THE PARTITION OF INDIA
(1947)

By
G. V. SUBBA RAU

GOSHTHI BOOK-TRUST,
AMALAPURAM (Andhra-Pradesh).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS



GANGENDU DHARA

DEDICATION

To,

GANGENDU DHARA,

The Lord Parama Shiva of Kailas

In a letter dated June 26, 1947, to Sri C Rajagopalachariar, I wrote

"I find that the 'Consamblind' has appointed a Flag Committee to devise a suitable Flag for the Indian Union. It is a bit anomalous that we should think of it, viz. an *Indian Union*, when *India*—the Land of the Sindhu—has gone over to Mr Jinnah, and *there is actual disunion* amidst us, instead of a *Union*. Fancy! *Gangendu Dhara*—the Parama Shiva of Kailas—being cut out of His beloved *INDU*—the Moon—River and Territory both; and the boasted Hindusthan becoming a Land of 'Gangaa Maayee or Gangamma' to put it in our homely Telugu! Yet it is being done to-day. But the Lord Rudra—He is the God of Destruction; and He can do the needed destruction to destroy all the disturbers of His Spousal Harmony. Therefore, I await with contentment all the Death-dance that will be let loose in India, nay in all-Asia, as a result of this Mountbatten Agreement which, to the shame of the Country, the Congress has subscribed to."

And today, while publishing this story of that Partition, it is but right that I offer this Volume, in all humility, to *Sree Gangendu Dhara*, the Lord of the Ganga and the Sindhu, from whom our wicked humanity have divorced His loving Moon. But the great Lord is not only our *Maha Rudra* (Lord of Destruction) but a *Maha Kaamuka* (Great Lover) also, and when He asserts His Spousal rights over His beloved River, Land and the Sea—the glorious Sindhu Saagara—may He, out of His infinite mercy, spare us these men from His wrath, because they have all done it through ignorance—through sheer *Avidya*

"Thamasoma Jyothirgamaya!"

(Lead us, Oh! Lord, from darkness unto Light!)

Aum! Shaanthih!

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

I have great pleasure in presenting herewith a People's version of the story of the 'Partition of India (1947)' to the English-reading public. I have long felt that, as one of the active participants in the struggle for our Independance *cum* Indian Unity, I owed a duty to myself in giving out to the public a number of facts which are known but to a few persons, but which, sometime or other, ought to reach the ordinary reader. Even the view-point herein perhaps differs somewhat from that into which our ruling Party has been striving to indoctrinate the Nation through its own methods of propaganda and publicity. And as an aspirant after TRUTH, it gives me no small pleasure to have been able to place this Volume before the reading public.

At the outset, I must say a word regarding the utter paucity of any literature worth the name on the subject of such a fateful and epoch-making event of our History as the Indian Partition. Though more than eleven years have elapsed, up-to-date, the number of any worth-while publications on the subject can be counted on one's fingers' ends—(1) V. P. Menon's "Transfer of Power", (2) Alan-C-Johnson's "Mission with Mountbatten", and (3) Prof. Bali's "Now it can be told", and perhaps just one or two more. That is all Of these, the first two, however valuable in themselves, are, for their price, beyond the reach of our ordinary readers. The 'Nationalist' writers in the country are probably averse to contribute anything regarding those ugly incidents which will expose the guilt of our Congress friends to the public gaze, while the Communist Press keeps deliberately mum, because of their own share of shabbiness in toeing the line for Mr. Jinnah at the time of the Partition

I think, I should explain the use of the singular person in several parts of the story. That it suits a story form may be a lame excuse. But there are two other reasons for this 'I' in this book. Because, firstly, the book itself is part of a much bigger series of Autobiographical Memoirs, called 'The Mirror of a Soul'

6-12-1946 and 20-2-47 (49-58), Mountbatten Plan (67-74), the Independence Bill (153-173), and the Radcliffe Award (176-191). I have also given, in their proper context, the reactions of the chief *dramatis personae* and extracts from the important opinions expressed at the time. And the views of the Congress and the League at the different stages of the story have also been included wherever required

But the present publication is not a mere compilation of official and non-official news and documents only, however useful these be for a proper appraisal of the events of the time. The main purpose of the volume, if I may so claim, is to present these documents not in a bureaucratic fashion, but in their true light and colours And here, luckily for me, there are many aspects which have been a sealed book hitherto for the general public; and I consider it a special privilege to have been able to get at these facts and facets and to present them to the public perhaps for the first time in some cases Thus the significance of the 15th August, the part played by Mahatma Gandhi in this tragic drama —or rather the part not played by him; the total frustration of the chief Congress leaders and the uttermost paralysis that crept into the rank and file of the great Congress organisation; the role of Lord Mountbatten; the by-passing of the Princes and of those others who had stood by the Unity as well as Freedom of India the possible alternatives to Partition; and some of the many incidents of those days are, for the first time, told here as part of a wider story of the Indian Partition. There are many more of such incidents, I dare say, which the public ought to know; but both space and my own limitations have obliged me to content myself with what I have given in the present Volume I am hoping, however, that there will be similar efforts hereafter, by others more knowing about these incidents and with greater scope and even ability to chronicle the same; and if the present publication can serve to stir up such thought and promote such literature, I shall feel more than amply rewarded for my labours.

One question that is asked frequently in this connection has got to be answered at this stage. If there was no Partition would the Britisher have delayed his departure from India? I do not think so. For, apart from the oft-repeated pledges of the

being 'opposed to Partition, but not opposing the Plan, because it had become a *fait accompli*'. And yet these people had pledged themselves to "work through peaceful methods for re-union by mutual consent"—a pledge, however, which is yet to be put into practice.

As for the Communists, there is the verdict of their own leader, Mr. N. Khrushchev, than whom, I suppose, there is no greater authority living for pronouncing an opinion in the Red World to-day. Thus, during his Kashmir tour, the great leader said:

"With your permission, I would like to express my opinion on the general question of the Partition of India into two States. Indian Friends, it made us very sad when imperialist powers succeeded in bringing about a division of India into two parts, India and Pakistan. Indeed, before the Indian people achieved independence of their country, there existed only one United India. The division of India into two parts was not brought about in the interests of the People of India. It was precisely for this reason that the religious passions of the people of India were roused even though the question of religious belief has never been an important factor in the formation of this or that State...

"It was not difference in religious faiths of the people which was the principal factor in the creation of Pakistan and in her separation from the one United State of India. Some States which have, for a long time, followed the well-known principle of '*divide and rule*' *actively helped in this. To achieve their aim,* they took advantage of the factor of differences in religious faiths and opinions.

"We are absolutely convinced that, when passions have calmed and people realise the significance of such an artificial division of India, they will regret it. But the question of creation of two independent States, India and Pakistan, has already been decided, and if I am expressing my frank opinion about this, it is not because I want this question to be reconsidered. I have simply pointed out a fact In as much as these two States exist and are developing, it is hardly necessary now to re-shape their boundaries as certain Powers would like to. It is well-

known that a change of boundaries is always painful and does not take place without violence and bloodshed "*

Nor can one forget what Sri Nehru and others had said about it at the time of the Partition. Thus:

"The United India that we have laboured for was not one of compulsion and coercion, but a free and willing association of free peoples. It may be that, in this way, we shall reach that United India sooner than otherwise, and that she will have a stronger and more secure foundation." (*Sree Nehru*).

"I believe with all my heart that the divisions that tend to keep us apart now, will not last long. I believe also that, even though we should choose to remain apart at present, we have so much in common, economically, geographically, and even spiritually, that the very blue-print of our plans, so soon as we view it with care, will bind us together." (*Sardar Baldev Singh*)

"The whole of Christendom united to give back Palestine to the Jews. Why should not the Hindudom of India make a joint effort with the brave Khalsa to undo the wrongs of Partition?" (*Master Tara Singh*).

"On the main problem of Indian Unity, the difference between Hindu and Muslim, I can only say this You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit. What arrangements you decide to make for the two great communities and certain other important minorities as well as the Indian States, to live within that unit, and to make the best use of its wealth and opportunities, is for Indians to decide. No man can alter geography". (*Lord Wavell*).

I shall not deal with the question of the 'how' of such a re-union here, because I have discussed it elsewhere in these pages; but I should remind the reader that the glorious work of our States' integration by the valiant Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was done on this principle of one India and not a Balkanised Hindusthan; that the National Anthem still speaks of a single State comprising both Sindh and the Punjab; nay, that the presence of a divided East and West Pakistan is a standing invitation for all sorts of further divisions, like a sovereign Kashmir, independent Nagasthan and even a republican Tamilnad If such fissiparous tendencies should be curbed, and if the Nation as a whole is to march firmly and contentedly to her goal, it is

* This, however, need not be the case always. Cf Alasca, for instance, or New Foundland.

imperative that our leaders on both the sides should begin thinking of a re-union.

The Partition of Bengal was considered to be a "Settled fact" in 1905. Yet barely six years elapsed before it was 'unsettled' and a United Bengal was the result. The Partition of India should likewise be considered, at best, as a temporary expedient, and the glorious vision of a re-united Bharat—'*Bharata Varsha*' we may call it, in distinction to the *Bharata-Khanda* which is our limited India of to-day—must refill our minds and inspire us in our actions.

Finally, I have got the pleasant duty of rendering thanks to all those to whom thanks are due in bringing out this publication. To the authors of the 'Mission with Mountbatten' and 'Now it can be Told', I am very much indebted. I am grateful to Veer V. D. Savarakar, Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer and Dr. Khare for their very valuable blessings, foreword and opinion respectively. To Dr. N. B. Khare, I also owe the entire Chapter XXXII, on the Meo Rebellion. To the G. V. S. Shashtyabdapoorthi Sangham of Amalapuram and to my esteemed friend, Sree Chitrapu Varadaraju Garu, the present publication owes its wherewithal. And to the Printers, I am very much obliged, indeed, for their uniform courtesy, and their neat and speedy execution. To them all, I render my grateful thanks. I think I may conclude this Preface with the following lines from one of my articles at the time of the Partition.

"*May wisdom dawn on us all*, and
Righteousness rule the land."

JAI BHARAT!

Goshthi, Amalapuram,
22nd February, 1959.
(5059, Maagha Pournami).

THE AUTHOR.



SWATANTRA VEER V. D. SAVARKAR

WITH THE AUTHOR (Right)

(Photo Calcutta—1949 Dec.)

BLESSINGS

By

(VEER V. D. SAVARKAR)

congratulate you on publishing your book, The Partition of India ". I appreciate it much for the special reason that the story of this Partition must be told by men of your calibre, integrity, partiotism, and who have personally taken active part in that movement in those days; because it is these personal narrations that will go to enlighten effectively any authoritative history in full of this period which is still to be written on a national scale.

FOREWORD

By

DR SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER, D.LITT, K.C.S.I.

THE PARTITION OF INDIA (1947) contains not only a summary of a long catena of official and non-official documents but a resume of many forgotten facts and circumstances including the tragic position occupied by Mahatma Gandhi and the many accidental and incidental events that created practically an irresistible flood tide of opinion and prejudice that led so precipitately to the denoument. The author has done well to point out that world events and the trend of world opinion would, in any case, have led to the grant of Independence to India quite irrespectively of the partition which, in truth, was not the sole or the main contributory cause in regard to the British Declaration of Independence to India.

There will be difference of opinion in regard to the author's thesis on the annulment of the Partition, and it is very doubtful if the curtain of history can be rolled back especially as new world trends have supervened and Pakistan has decided to blaze its own political trail. In any case, this volume is of great significance as explaining the role of Lord Mountbatten and the inner meaning of such problems as Kashmir and the Meo revolt Within a small compass, Sri G. V. Subba Rao has compressed not only many original documents and ideas but opinions which are refreshingly candid and outspoken.

MADRAS,
February 5, 1959. } C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER.

OPINION

OF DR. N. B. KHARE, B.A., M.D.

(Former Member, Viceroy's Executive Council)

I congratulate the author for writing this book and thus doing signal service to the cause of the true history of modern India. This book gives in some detail the factual account of the fateful historical event, namely, the Partition of India, which has caused tremendous and irreparable damage to the country. This book is perhaps the first in the field in giving an authentic account of the Indian Partition. It gives full details of every document, official and non-official, which has a direct or indirect bearing on the subject.

It throws a lurid light on the part played by Mahatma Gandhi in the tragedy of Partition, or the unnatural operation performed by Lord Louis Mountbatten, aided and abetted by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohamed Ali Jinnah. It describes how the great Congress Organisation became helpless before the bloody direct action of the Muslim League, which began on the 16th August 1946, just a fortnight before the members of the Congress High Command assumed office as members of the Viceroy's Executive Council on the 2nd September 1946, under the Govt of India Act of 1919. It is well-known that, in the beginning, the Muslim League did not join the Viceroy's Council. Thus a golden opportunity offered itself to the Congress to nip Pakistan in the bud, by banning the Muslim League and getting Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan imprisoned through the agency of M/s. B. G. Kher and G. B Pant, the Congress Chief Ministers functioning in Bombay and U.P. under the 1935 Provincial Autonomy Act But alas! the Congress High Command failed to show the requisite courage and was blackmailed and bludgeoned into accepting Pakistan as was openly declared by Jinnah. Jinnah had the moral support of high British Officers in this game, as was declared by Shri Nehru at Meerut in his Public Speech in November 1946 when he was Vice-President of the Viceroy's Council. I can vouchsafe for the truth of this

statement of Shri Nehru, because in May 1946, at a joint meeting of the British Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy's Council of which I was a member then under the Presidentship of Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, every European Member and every Muslim Member of the Viceroy's Council sang in chorus, that the Muslim fear of Hindu domination must be allayed; evidently that meant Pakistan. Going out of my way, I apprised some prominent Congressmen of this Anglo-Muslim conspiracy, but the Congress did not raise its little finger; because in spite of their forthright pronouncements to the contrary, the top-ranking Congress Leaders, including the Mahatma, had mentally acquiesced in the scheme of Partition.

As a proof of this statement, it is enough to mention that Mahatma Gandhi, in his letter to Jinnah about August 1944 seeking his interview, had offered to consider Pakistan, and in his final letter to Jinnah after the interview dated about 24th September 1944, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Jinnah that he did not accept the two nation theory, but had offered all or almost all the concrete consequences of it.

The Imperial Policy of Britain is to divide a country before quitting it. The British were aware of this weakness of the Congress leaders in the matter of Pakistan, on account of the infamous Congress Policy of appeasement of Muslims. Therefore they made friends with the Congress, so that it might help in their game of division of the country. And to avoid all opposition, the British only negotiated with the Muslim League (their own protege) and the Congress in the matter of transfer of power' and deliberately by-passed all the elements which had stood for unity and integrity of the country, like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Indian (Hindu) Princes. In my interview with Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, as a member of his Council, on 12th June 1945, I requested him to invite the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha to the Simla Conference which was held in July 1945. I made this request because they would have certainly opposed parity and Pakistan. But the Viceroy curtly refused my request, obviously for this very reason, and said that the Hindu Mahasabha leaders made speeches more bitter than the Congress leaders, and the Hindu Mahasabha was inveterately anti-British.

At the request of Shri Shri Prakash, the present Governor of Bombay, I made successful efforts to get the Congress Working Committee members released from the Ahamadnagar jail, and they were released on the 14th June 1945. On release, Shri Nehru made a very bitter speech against the British Government at Allahabad on 18th June 1945, which was reported in the Press. I sent its Press cutting to Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, and asked him, "Who was more bitter?" The Viceroy, in his reply to me dated 26th June 1945 from Simla, excused Nehru by saying that he had made that speech just after his release from a long *confinement in jail.*

From this letter, I at once sensed that power would be given in the hands of Nehru. It is well-known that Shri Nehru was sent to Singapore and Malaya in the first quarter of 1946, to be brought under the influence of Lord Mountbatten, the future Viceroy, by being feted and flattered. Mr. Campbell Johnson, the Press-attache to Mountbatten, has said in his book "*My Mission with Mountbatten*", that "*Mountbatten soon found out that Pandit Nehru was amenable to flattery and fond of self-adulation.*" Soon after his return from Malaya, Pandit Nehru was appointed Vice-President of the Viceroy's Council on 2nd September 1946. Therefore there was no delay in the acceptance of Pakistan after Lord Mountbatten became the Viceroy on 24th March 1947. Mountbatten came, saw, and conquered. He persuaded the Congress to accept division of the country, the Muslim League to accept a truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan, and the Princes to join the Indian Union. Verily, as his name signifies, he mounted on all with his baton.

It was not for nothing that "Pandit Mountbatten-ki Jai" was sung in full-throated chorus on 15th August 1947, the fateful day in New Delhi near the India Gate. Viewing all these events at close quarters, and much more which can't be briefly expressed, I must say that the Congress, although in the beginning, protested too much of its chastity, ultimately committed adultery with British Imperialism, and gave birth to the illegitimate off-spring in the shape of Pakistan. This explains [illegible] subtle and veiled attachment of the Congress to Pakistan [illegible] Jinnah's vow that he would have Pakistan within [illegible] from 16th August 1946, the Direct Action day, [illegible]

and Mahatma's boast of "Swaraj within one year" uttered in 1920 proved utterly false.

History will not forget this treacherous conduct of the Congress Organisation in accepting Pakistan against its plighted word given during the elections of 1946. Large sections of even future generations will regard this treacherous conduct of the Congress as a contributory cause towards the unfortunate and abrupt end of Mahatma's life, dedicated to achieve Hindu-Muslim Unity at any cost. The effect on the Hindus of the activities of the Congress trio described in this book, can be easily compared to the effect on the Hindus of the activities of the historical trio, namely, Aurangzeb, Mirza Raja Jaisingh, and Afzulkhan of Pratapgarh fame.

The author has referred to many points in this book, viz., (i) Our allegiance to the British Commonwealth whose symbolic Head is the British Sovereign; (ii) Information conveyed to Lord Wavell that the Indian Army was resolved not to raise its little finger against the Nationalist movement or its leaders; (iii) The part played by Subhash Chandra Bose inspired by Veer Savarkar in securing freedom; (iv) The question whether, if there was no Partition, the British would have deferred their departure from India; and (v) the resignation of Maulana Azad of the Presidentship of the Congress and the election of Nehru in his place before being appointed as Vice-President of the Viceroy's Council, and many other points.

In his Preface, the author has expressed the hope that there will be similar efforts hereafter. While concluding my review, I have great pleasure to announce that the author's hope will be soon fulfilled, as my English Auto-biography, consisting of about six hundred pages of the same demi-size, is under print, and it will throw further light on the above-mentioned points and on many others. I heartily thank the author for asking me to give my opinion on this important book.

Nagpur, 18-12-1958. (Dr.) N. B. KHARE.

CONTENTS

1. FIFTEENTH AUGUST

The fifteenth day of August, 1947, is an epoch-making date, for, on that day ended the three-hundred year old British Flag in the "Indian Empire", and two new Dominions, viz., India and Pakistan, came into existence Speaking of the significance of this day, I recently wrote:

"What is the significance of the 15th August? In view of the vast ignorance obtaining around us, and the growing indifference of our people to its celebrations, let us remind ourselves that it was on that day, nine years ago, that (1) India and Pakistan got rid of the 'Satanic' British rule; (2) We had our new National Flag—*Chakra Dhwaja*—in place of the former Union Jack; (3) The former British coinage was replaced by the Asokan Pillar coins; (4) We acquired a new citizenship—the Bharateeya citizenship; (5) In place of the former '*Dieu et Mon Droit*' (God is my right), we have got a new motto—*Satyameva Jayathe* (i e. Truth alone will conquer); (6) On 26-11-1949, we got a new Constitution in place of the old Government of India Act of 1935; and (7) The four Objectives of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which are now our National Objectives —nay, Universal Objectives also Such a day, verily, shall be a National *holy* day in any country. If we may say so, it shall be a new Deepavali for India—the end of the British Colonial *Asura* —when our people shall bathe, feast, decorate and illumine and illuminate their inner and outer surroundings for ever and ever." ('Goshthi'.)

Expatiating on this change, I further wrote in the same issue:

"Is it a small change? Is it not the result of centuries of aspiration and effort, sacrifices and suffering, on the part of millions of our men and women in the country? Is it not for such a change that the great chieftains like Krishnadeva [illegible] Ganapati Rudra, Shivaji Maharaj, Ranjit Singh, Bahadur [illegible]

Maharani Lakshmi Bai and others had strove and the Congress and other parties and organisations had endeavoured? And is not the change one which any country in the world will love to live for and die for if necessary!........The Freedom we secured on 15-8-1947, though somewhat limited by cruel fate and man, is precious, inalienable. We shall not allow it to be lost again—God forbid!—even for a place in Heaven. In fact, Heaven itself, we imagine, would be an Abode of Free souls released from inner and outer bondage. Where the unfree reside, it shall be *Naraka*."

Speaking of the way in which such a day should be celebrated, in the same article, I wrote:

"Whenever we think of the Independence Day, we are reminded of our *Deepavali*, the day of destruction of the evil *Asura*, Naraka. Such a day, we are taught, should be celebrated as a National festival—through bath, wearing of new clothes, feasting, illumination and even fire-works. Such a celebration certainly goes home to the people's minds and every child enjoys it as its own day. But in the case of this Independence Day, how do we celebrate it? Mahatma Gandhi himself called the British Imperialism a 'Satanic' system. But our present rulers are diffident to designate it as such, lest it should embarrass their relations with the Commonwealth leaders. In our view, this Commonwealth relationship for India is a curse. And the sooner it is done away with, the better for ourselves and for the world. Then the people will understand that we have really got rid of an *Asuric* rule and are under *Swaraj*. How can we enthuse the people over the removal of the British rule, while our new rulers swear allegiance to a *British* Commonwealth whose 'Symbolic Head' is the British Queen? If our Independence Day should be celebrated duly hereafter, and if the spirit of Freedom should go deep into the veins and arteries of our people—which is a *sine qua non* for retaining and protecting the freedom we have now got—we suggest that it should become a new *Deepavali* for the Nation from year to year. We do not know whether the episode of the Naraka *Asura* was a historical fact or mere mythology. But this riddance of the 'Satanic' British rule—the British *Asura* we might call it—is a fact of our recent experience. And the remnants of this Asuric force—British jurisprudence and language, education, medicine, Parliamentarianism, financing, etc.—shall

equally go. And that Independence shall be real Independence in India, which will rise from our Indian roots, satisfy our Indian sentiments and shall serve our Indian needs. All else will be an empty shibboleth. May the Nation realise it at least by the next Independence Day, which, incidentally, will synchronise with the 1857 centenary celebrations! May it be a new Deepavali for the world! And may its multi-million lights illumine our atrophied minds and activise our deeds!"

Regarding this exact date, viz, 15th August, there are two or three aspects which are worth remembering.

Originally, the British Government declared its intention to transfer authority in India to Indian hands and vacate the GADI by the end of June, 1948 Thus, the declaration of Premier Attlee dated 20-2-1947 in the British Parliament stipulated that "it is their (British Government's) definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948". Again, the official "Indian Information", in an article entitled "Stewardship of Lord Mountbatten, The year (1947) in Retrospect", *observed*:

"Lord Mountbatten arrived in India on March 22, 1947 and was sworn in as Viceroy and Governor-General on March 24, 1947. Under the British Government's declaration of policy of February 20, Britain was to transfer power by June 1948. Lord Mountbatten, as he explained at the Press Conference on June 4, came out to India to spend the first six months, as arranged in London, *in becoming acquainted with the problems and then* send recommendations to His Majesty's Government to enable them in due course to prepare the necessary legislation for introduction early in 1948, in Parliament."

Even in the Mountbattan Plan of June 3, 1947, we are told: "The major political parties have repeatedly emphasised their desire that there should be earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire, H.M. Government are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948, for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious and indeed the only practi-

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Maharani Lakshmi Bai and others had strove and the Congress and other parties and organisations had endeavoured? And is not the change one which any country in the world will love to live for and die for if necessary?.........The Freedom we secured on 15-8-1947, though somewhat limited by cruel fate and man, is precious, inalienable. We shall not allow it to be lost again—God forbid!—even for a place in Heaven. In fact, Heaven itself, we imagine, would be an Abode of Free souls released from inner and outer bondage. Where the unfree reside, it shall be *Naraka*."

Speaking of the way in which such a day should be celebrated, in the same article, I wrote:

"Whenever we think of the Independence Day, we are reminded of our *Deepavali*—the day of destruction of the evil *Asura*, Naraka. Such a day, we are taught, should be celebrated as a National festival—through bath, wearing of new clothes, feasting, illumination and even fire-works. Such a celebration certainly goes home to the people's minds and every child enjoys it as its own day. But in the case of this Independence Day, how do we celebrate it? Mahatma Gandhi himself called the British Imperialism a 'Satanic' system. But our present rulers are diffident to designate it as such, lest it should embarrass their relations with the Commonwealth leaders. In our view, this Commonwealth relationship for India is a curse. And the sooner it is done away with, the better for ourselves and for the world. Then the people will understand that we have really got rid of an *Asuric* rule and are under *Swaraj*. How can we enthuse the people over the removal of the British rule, while our new rulers swear allegiance to a *British* Commonwealth whose 'Symbolic Head' is the British Queen? If our Independence Day should be celebrated duly hereafter, and if the spirit of Freedom should go deep into the veins and arteries of our people—which is a *sine qua non* for retaining and protecting the freedom we have now got—we suggest that it should become a new *Deepavali* for the Nation from year to year. We do not know whether the episode of the Naraka *Asura* was a historical fact or mere mythology. But this riddance of the 'Satanic' British rule—the British *Asura* we might call it—is a fact of our recent experience. And the remnants of this Asuric force—British jurisprudence and language, education, medicine, Parliamentarianism, financing, etc.—shall

equally go. And that Independence shall be real Independence in India, which will rise from our Indian roots, satisfy our Indian sentiments and shall serve our Indian needs All else will be an empty *shibboleth*. *May the Nation realise it at least* by the next Independence Day, which, incidentally, will synchronise with the 1857 centenary celebrations! May it be a new Deepavali for the world! And may its multi-million lights illumine our atrophied minds and activise our deeds!"

Regarding this exact date, viz , 15th August, there are two or three aspects which are worth remembering.

Originally, the British Government declared its intention to *transfer authority in India to Indian hands and vacate the* GADI by the end of June, 1948 Thus, the declaration of Premier Attlee dated 20-2-1947 in the British Parliament stipulated that "it is their (British Government's) definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948". Again, the official "Indian Information", in an article entitled "Stewardship of Lord Mountbatten, The year (1947) in Retrospect", observed

"Lord Mountbatten arrived in India on March 22, 1947 and was sworn in as Viceroy and Governor-General on March 24, 1947. Under the British Government's declaration of policy of February 20, Britain was to transfer power by June 1948. Lord Mountbatten, as he explained at the Press Conference on June 4 came out to India to spend the first six months, as [illegible] London, in becoming acquainted with the problems and then send recommendations to His Majesty's Government to enable them in due course to prepare the necessary legislation for introduction *early in 1948, in Parliament.*"

Even in the Mountbattan Plan of June 3, 1947 [illegible] "The major political parties have repeatedly emphasised their desire that there should be earliest possible transfer of power in India. *With this desire*, H.M. Government are in full sympathy and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948, for the

cal way of meeting this desire, H.M. Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year, on a Dominion Status basis, to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement."

The desire to "*anticipate the date of June 1948*" is, indeed, here in this announcement; but when the so-called Indian Independence Bill or to be more exact, a Bill "*for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions*" was introduced early next month in the British Parliament, the very first article of the Bill reads thus:

"1. The new Dominions:

(1) As from the fifteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, *two independent Dominions shall be* set up in India, to be known respectively as India and Pakistan.

(2) The said Dominions are hereafter in the Act referred to as 'the new Dominions', and the fifteenth day of August is hereafter in this Act referred to as 'the appointed day".

Regarding this fifteenth August, Sree Aurobindo Ghosh, in his *Independence Day Declaration, said:*

"August 15, 1947, is the birth-day of free India. It marks for her the end of an old era, the beginning of a new age. But we can also make it by our life and acts as a free nation an important date in a new age opening for the whole world, for the political, social, cultural and *spiritual future of humanity*.

"August 15th is my own birthday, and it is naturally gratifying *to me that it should have assumed this vast importance*. I take this coincidence, not as a fortuitous accident, but as the sanction and seal of the Divine Force that guides my steps on the work which I began in life, the beginning of its full fruition. Indeed, *on this day I can* watch almost all the world-movements which I hoped to see fulfilled in my life-time, though then they looked like impracticable dreams, arriving at fruition or on their way to achievement."

Was the 15th August, the day of Britain's quitting from India, thus a day of divine dispensation? In a sense, it was. Because not a blade moves without His decree. And as God ordains, everything is determined No one can deny this position—unless he be a non-believer in the Divine himself. But humanly speaking, it is relevant to ask as to why this particular day of August 15 was chosen for India's restart and the starting of Pakistan in life? Among the Congress or the League leaders, none of them was a follower of Sree Aurobindo, to suggest his birthday for the birth of the new Dominions It was neither Gandhi's nor Mr Jinnah's birthday. It was not even the beginning of any new year or month, Hindu or Muslim, Christian or any other. Even for our revenue accounts, the middle of a calendar month would not ordinarily be chosen. So, there could be no bureaucracy behind this 'appointed day'. Still some rational explanation for the choice must be found And I am hoping that the following makes not only a good story but a true one.

In order to understand the full significance of this paticular choice, one will have to travel far back in time—to the date of the Nagpur Congress of December, 1920, when the ill-fated resolution of Gandhi's Non-co-operation was passed, as a means of establishing Swaraj in India "*in the Year of Grace 1921*" (italics not mine). In fact, throughout the succeeding year, "Swaraj in one year" became a universal slogan; and Gandhiji himself declared more than once that, if there was no Swaraj in 1921, at the end of the year, the world would see him either no more or retired to the Himalayas. But the fact remains, viz., that, through Gandhiji's ill-luck or want of adequate Divine Grace or because of India's own lack of will or fortune, India was *not* free by 1-1-1922, and continued unfree for another twenty-five and odd years As a consequence, Gandhiji himself neither died nor retired after the end of his stipulated—nay, oft-declared—period of one year, was busy with his "constructive programmes", but kicking the British Government also in India equally as and when it suited him, and in the end, found himself a pathetic witness to the burning pyres of both his cherished objects of absolute *Ahimsa* and Hindu-Muslim Unity, for which he had rendered no mean service throughout his life. Thus, the defeat, fall and disillusionment of the Mahatman dream of

"Swaraj in one year" through twenty-five years is one part of this 15th August mystery.

As against this picture, there was Mr. Jinnah's own dream and, shall we call it, his dread resolve to achieve Pakistan within one year, through his own League ways. Thus, we read:

"On August 16, 1946—the Direct Action Day of the Muslim League—began the 'Great killing' in Calcutta and the premier city of India—then under a Muslim League Government—was reduced to 'bloody shambles'. In October, 1946, the Muslims of two Muslim majority districts in Bengal (Noakhali and Tipperah) fell upon their Hindu neighbours and committed horrible murders and other unspeakable atrocities. Riots then broke out in some parts of Bihar and U. P. and in Bombay. A movement for the partition of Bengal into two provinces, one consisting of the Hindu-majority areas and the other consisting of the Muslim-majority areas, began to gain ground, for the Hindus of Bengal felt that their life, property and honour would not remain safe under the rule of the Muslim majority. Meanwhile Pandit Nehru formed an Interim Government consisting of Congress nominees which assumed office on September 2, 1946. Mr. Jinnah's co-operation was asked for and refused. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, however, continued negotiations with him, as a result of which five Muslim League nominees joined the Interim Government on October 26, 1946. The Congress and the League blocks within the Interim Government could not pull on together. Pandit Nehru openly declared that 'the League pursued their aim to enlist British support and tried to establish themselves as the King's party.' Even after joining the Interim Government, the League persisted in its refusal to join the Constituent Assembly. The British Government invited the Viceroy and representatives of the Congress, the League and the Sikhs to go to London to discuss the basis of a common understanding between the Congress and the League. After discussions with them, the British Government issued a statement on December 6, 1946, which supported the League point of view. This statement was accepted by the Congress in the hope that the League would then join the Constituent Assembly. But Mr. Jinnah refused to change his policy."

"As the Muslim League steadily refused to co-operate with the Congress, the political situation in the country began to grow worse day by day. On February 20, 1947, the British Government made a statement, declaring its 'definite intention......to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948. If the League did not join the Constituent Assembly, the British Government would have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people".

"The publication of this statement was followed by organised violence in Calcutta, Assam, the Punjab and the *N. W.* Frontier Province. The non-Muslims suffered a good deal everywhere, specially in the Western districts of the Punjab, where thousands were massacred.........The Hindus of Bengal now became almost unanimous in favour of the partition of Bengal. The Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab also concluded that their safety lay in partition of their province, thereby leaving the Hindu-majority districts outside the pale of the Muslim League".*

Such was the background of the events that led eventually to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab *vis-a-vis* the Partition of INDIA alias the INDIAN EMPIRE

And there were two parts of it, viz., (1) the partition of India, and (2) the partition of the two provinces of Bengal and the Punjab. The Congress leaders had to agree to the first, and the League leaders to the second. In April and May 1947, Lord Mountbatten could make the Congress leaders (as we shall presently see) agree to the former; but the second was still a tough job for even the Viceroy, for Mr. Jinnah insisted upon his pound of flesh—i.e., of the entire Punjab and Bengal provinces for his new divided Pakistan. The Governor-General pressed it very hard, indeed, upon Mr. Jinnah not to be unreasonable, but to agree to the partition of these provinces also. At last, Jinnah yielded—but on one condition, he seems to have told the Viceroy. It was

* "History of India" by Sinha & Banerjee, pp 654-56.

that the new Pakistan State should come into existence not later than one year from the date of the League's "Direct Action Day" i.e., 16—8—1947. The British Government bent low before the League's truculence. The Congress capitulated before the might of the Quaid-e-Azam. And thus the great Indian Empire came to be vivisected on "the appointed date" into two *Dominions*, *viz.*, *India and Pakistan.*

The above, I believe, seems to be a truthful and succinct story of what actually happened. Several people who participated in these partition talks are now no more—more particularly Messrs. Jinnah and Patel. But there are others, Lord Mountbatten and Pandit Nehru, for instance, who are still with us happily. Will they reveal the inside story of the 15th August one day? It is worth some historians trying to get at the facts, for they form part of a stirring time of our history.

So, in the absence of a clearly recorded fact, one is perforce led to guess at what could have actually happened. And the man of pique that Mr. Jinnah was—call him, if you please, the man of determination equally—it would certainly add to his personal pride as well as his National (Pakistanee) glory, if he could achieve an independent State within a year of his launching a Direct Action for it—a thing, which, by contrast, his rival, the Mahatma, had himself aspired to more than twenty-five years previously, but could not. Mr. Jinnah, it was said, was an intensely vain-glorious man. And, any day, to have been able to say that he succeeded where the Mahatma had failed—does it not add a feather to the cap which he, the League leader, had come to don on his astute head, where the Saint of Sabarmati-cum-Sevagram had discarded his head-gear long, long ago? The explanation is plausible. In any case, I venture to make it and leave it to time to reveal more about its accuracy.

If my conjecture were correct, apart from its historical aspect, the incident would add certainly to the glory of Mr. Jinnah as well as to the shame of the Congress leaders for having not only yielded on the question of vivisection but also in allowing it to be timed to suit the superior will of the League leader. But in this world of God, I suppose, he gets it who deserves; and where we have been lacking in adequate WILL to

achieve one united, undivided, free Hindusthan, how can even God help us where we did not deserve it properly?

And as for Sree Aurobindo's claim of its being his own birthday, no one can deny its historicity The Ashram had long been celebrating the day as such. The fact of the coincidence is equally patent and undeniable. At the same time, two questions are bound to arise and have got to be faced For one who had long declared himself as being out of the political fold—"No politics here" was an Ashram motto for a long time—and except when Cripps came over here, and even then unsuccessfully, having never interfered with any active Indian politics ever since 1910, I do not know whether it is up to Sree Aurobindo to have made a claim in this regard. Spiritually, i.e, to say through vision, aspiration, awareness, blessing and so forth, it may be alright. But in this hard, mundane, work-a-day world, where one has got but little or no earthly connection with these dry-as-dust affairs, whether such claims can be justified, is more than I can say. And if they be allowed, what is to become of all those humble humans who inhabit this earth, strive for these worldly goods incessantly, suffer for them, sacrifice themselves and reap the fruits of their labour but will have to hand over the harvest to some "over-lord" who claims the whole thing as his own? To me, at any rate, it is inconceivable. It would be another matter, however, if any other body—any devout disciple of the Yogi—had put in such a claim One can understand such blind faith and phantasy. But that it should have come from Sree Aurobindo himself, makes some difference. Probably one is yet to divine the inner forces of our human workings But then, i.e, if Sree Aurobindo himself was thus responsible for our political deliverance, how is it that the British Government had not named him or the Mother or the Ashram as their "Successor power" in the country? And how did Sree Aurobindo or the Mother or one of their disciples or nominees not become the first Premier of Free India or the first President of the Republic?

And secondly, should we always go on reckoning our days in terms of the Christian Calendar even in Free India? Are we not to change our Calendar-values themselves in our real *Svaraj*? From Christ to Krishna—is this not also one of our objectives in this world? Or, as a Telugu proverb so beautifully puts it,

Even in Heaven, are we to divorce ourselves from our loved ones ?

Since writing the above, I have come across the following passage from the "Mission with Mountbatten". Broadcasting on the 15th August to an American audience, Lord Mountbatten declared : "Two years ago, to-day, I had just returned from the Potsdam Conference, and was in the Prime Minister's room in 10, Downing Street, when the news of the Japanese surrender came through. Here, as I speak to you tonight in Delhi, we are celebrating an event no less momentous for the future of the world,—India's Independence Day. In the Atlantic Charter, we, the British and Americans, dedicated ourselves to champion the self-determination of people and the independence of nations. Bitter experience has taught us that it is often easier to win a war than to achieve a war aim. So let us remember August 15th—V. J. Day—not only as the celebration of a victory, but also as the fulfilment of a pledge." (p. 151.) So, India's Independence Day is the day of Asiatic shame and defeat under Western might !

AUM SHAANTHIH !

2. MARCH TO FREEDOM

The War in Europe broke out in September, 1939; and by November the same year, the Congress ministries were off their duty and very soon found themselves behind jail-bars After protracted consultations with the British Government, both Amery and Linlithgow came out with simulatneous announcement on the 8th August, 1940, which are considered to be memorable for their content and expression. Thus, in the course of their statement, after admitting the failure of the Government of India Act of 1935 and confessing the incapacity of the British Parliament to legislate for India, the distinguished authors declared.

"There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme (that is, the new constitutional scheme for India) should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility"

Again, in the War Cabinet's proposals for India, sent over here through Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942, it was laid down that "His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-Government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union, which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs His Majesty's Government, therefore, make the following declaration:

"(a) Immediately upon cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in manner described hereafter, an elected

body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

"(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for participation of Indian States in the constitution-making body.

"(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed, subject only to—

(i) The right of any Province in British India——to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so desires:...

(ii) the signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body".

In his address before the Central Legislature, in February, 1944, Lord Wavell, as Viceroy, delivered a speech in the course of which His Excellency said: "We are bound in justice, in honour, in the interests of progress, to hand over India to Indian rule, which can maintain the peace and order and progress which we have endeavoured to establish. I believe that we should take some risk to further this". Referring to the Cripps' proposals, he said:

"Nearly two years have passed since the draft Cripps declaration was made public; but it stands forth today as the solemn pledge of His Majesty's Government that India shall have full control of her own destiny among the nations of the Commonwealth and of the world. The Cripps offer was an offer of full self-Government, of the right to frame her own constitution, if she so desired, to sever her partnership with the British Commonwealth". On the main problem of Indian Unity, "His Excellency continued, the difference between Hindu and Muslim, I can only say this. You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit. What arrangement you decide to make for the two great communities and certain other important minorities, as well as the Indian States, to live with that unit and to make the best use of its wealth and opportunities, is for Indians to decide". His Excellency continued: "That two communities and even two nations can make arrangements to live together inspite of differing cultures or religions, history provides many examples.

The solutions of the problem have varied. England and Scotland, after centuries of strife, arrived at an absolute union, in Canada, the British and French elements reached a Federal agreement which operates satisfactorily. The French, Italian and German elements in Switzerland agreed on a different form of Federation. In all the above, there were religious as well as racial differences. In the United States, many elements, racial and religious, have been fused into one great nation, with a Federal structure, after the bitter experience of a disastrous civil war In Ireland, the conflicting elements have so far failed to unite, and Ireland has a sort of Pakistan, though the analogy is of course only relative The Soviet Union in Russia seems to have devised a new modification of its already flexible system, which will also, no doubt, repay careful study. These examples are before India for her constitutionalists to study. It is for her to say which will most nearly fulfil her own needs. But no man can alter geography."

Soon after the war in Europe was ended, H. M the King, at the opening of the new Parliament, delivered a speech in which the following sentence occurs. "In accordance with the promises already made to my Indian peoples, my Government will do their utmost to promote, in conjunction with leaders of Indian opinion, early realisation of full self-Government in India". Referring to this H E. Lord Wavell, in a broad-cast dated 19—9—1945, declared:

"As stated in the gracious speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament, His Majesty's Government are determined to do their utmost to promote, in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion, the early realisation of full self-Government in India During my visit to London, they have discussed with me the steps to be taken......It is the intention of H. M. Government to convene, as soon as possible, a constitution-making body and, as a preliminary step, they have authorised me to undertake immediately after the elections, discussions with representatives of the Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 Declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable. Discussions will also be undertaken with the representatives of the Indian States with a view to ascertain in what

way they can best take their part in the constitution-making body. His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of the treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India." "The above procedure," His Excellency concluded: "seems to H. M. Government and myself the best way open to us to give India the opportunity of deciding her destiny. We are well aware of the difficulties to be overcome, but are determined to overcome them. I can certainly assure you that the Government and all sections of the British people are anxious to help India, which has given us so much help in winning this War. I, for my part, will do my best, in the service of the people of India, to help them to arrive at their goal, and I firmly believe that it can be done. It is now for Indians to show that they have the wisdom, faith and courage to determine in what way they can reconcile their differences and how their country can be governed by Indians for Indians."

In a similar broadcast from London simultaneously, Mr. Attlee, the new Prime Minister of U. K., declared: "The broad definition of British Policy towards India contained in the declaration of 1942 which had the support of all parties in this country stands in all its fulness and purpose. This declaration envisaged the negotiation of a treaty between the British Government and the Constitution-making body. Government is giving immediate consideration to the contents of such a treaty. It can be said here that, in that treaty, we shall not seek to provide for anything incompatible with the interests of India. No one who has any acquaintance with Indian affairs will under-estimate the difficulties which will have to be surmounted in the setting up and smooth operation of a Constitution-making body. Still greater is the difficulty which will face the elected representatives of the Indian people in seeking to frame a Constitution for a great continent containing more than 400 millon people." And in an appeal for unity, the Prime Minister concluded: "During the war, Indian fighting men have, in Europe, Africa and Asia, played a splendid part in defeating the forces of tyranny and aggression. India has shared to the full, with the rest of the United Nations, the task of saving freedom and democracy. Victory came through unity and through the readiness of all to sink their differences in order to attain the supreme

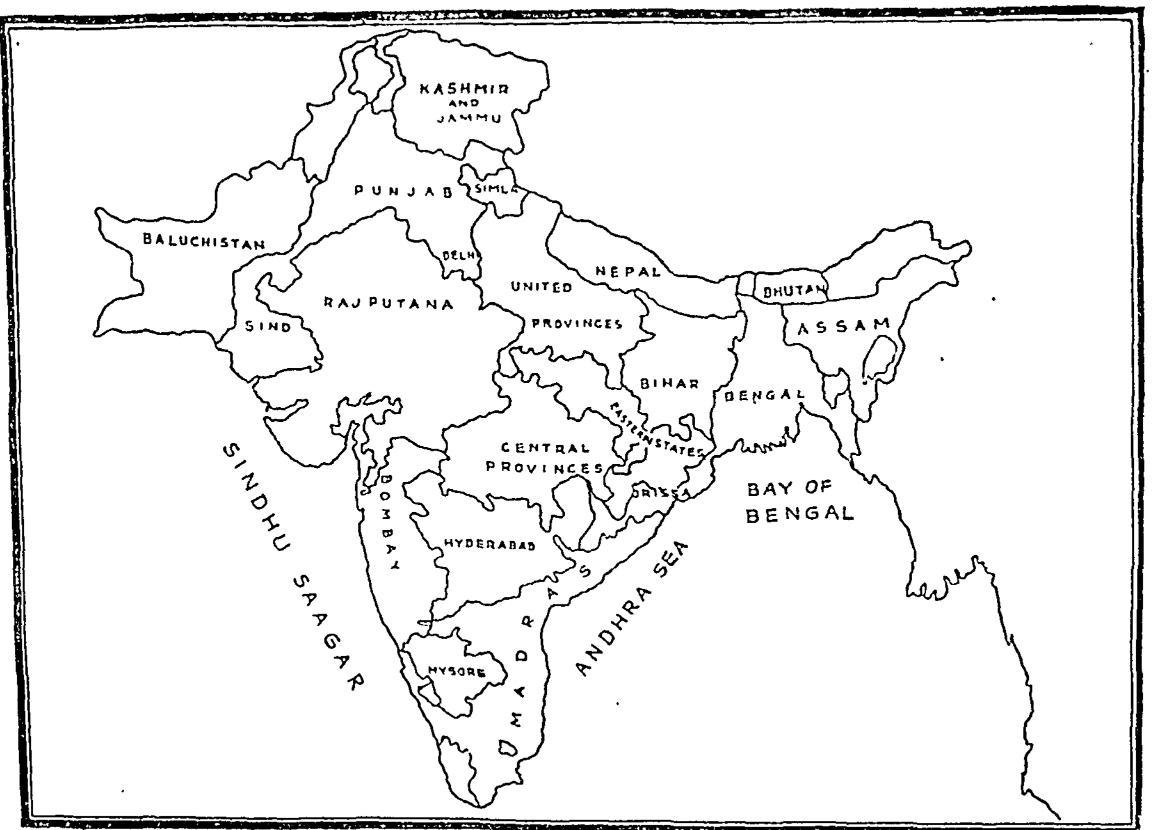
object, victory. I would ask all Indians to follow the great example and to join together in a united effort to work out a Constitution, which the majority and minority communities will accept as a just and fair Constitution, in which both the States and the Provinces can find their place. The British Government will do their utmost to give all the assistance in their power, and India can be assued of the sympathy of the British people."

In the meanwhile, Mr. Jinnah was insisting on the division of India and the creation of a sovereign Muslim State Mr C Rajagopalachari, the veteran Congress leader, evolved a formula for Congress-League co-operation on the basis of Independence *cum* Pakistan. Mahatma Gandhi, released on May 6, 1944, put that formula before Mr. Jinnah The formula was to the effect that (1) the Muslim League would endorse the demand for Independence and co-operate with the Congress in forming a Provisional Government for the transitional period, (2) at the end of the war, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants in the Muslim-majority areas in the north-west and north-east would decide whether or not they should form a separate State; (3) in the event of separation, agreements would be made for defence, communcations and other essential matters, and (4) these terms were to be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India But Mr. Jinnah rejected the offer. He wanted a plebiscite of only the Muslim inhabitants of the concerned areas Nor would he allow for any joint control over subjects of common concern, like defence

In the elections that followed the Wavell declaration, the Congress captured almost all the non-Moslem seats in all the Provinces, the majority of the Muslim seats in the N W F. Province and some Muslim seats in U. P., C. P., Bihar and Assam. The League captured an overwhelming majority of the Muslim seats in all the Provinces excepting the N W. F. P. The Congress assumed office in all the provinces except Bengal and Sind. Everywhere pure Congress Ministries were thus formed except in the Punjab, where a Coalition Ministry, composed of Congress men, Akali Sikhs and Unionist Hindus and Muslims came to power * The Centre, however, continued in bureaucratic hands-

* The bulk of the information in this section has been culled out from Sinha and Banerjee's "History of India",

The next in this march to Indian Independence was the Cabinet Mission scheme. On February 19, 1946, the British Government announced a special Mission of Cabinet Ministers, consisting of the Secretary of State for India (Lord Pethick-Lawrence), the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Stafford Cripps), and the First Lord of Admiralty (Mr. A. V. Alexander), to visit India and hold discussions with the Indian leaders, over the setting up of a Constitution-making body and the bringing into being of an Executive Council having the support of the main political parties. The Cabinet Ministers would act in association with the Viceroy. On March 15, 1946, Mr. Attlee declared in the House of Commons that a minority could not be allowed to put a veto on the advance of the majority. The three Ministers arrived in Karachi on March 23, 1946. And about the numerous recommendations of the distinguished team, we shall read in the next chapter.



Pre-Partition INDIAN EMPIRE

3. THE CABINET MISSION SCHEME

A New Delhi message of May 17, 1946 reads :—

A Union of India, which should consist of both the Provinces and the States, and a Union Legislature and Executive, constituted by representatives of the Provinces and the States, are the vital features of the new Constitution for India, which has been recommended by the Cabinet Delegation, in their statement issued here last night. The Mission has rejected the Muslim League's demand for a separate sovereign State of Pakistan, as "there is no justification for including, in such a separate State, large non-Muslim elements." They have also rejected the alternative scheme of a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan, consisting of Muslim-majority areas only, as it is 'impracticable'. The Ministers, however, recognise that a control in all matters vital to their religion, and economic interests should be secured to the Muslims.

The Ministers recommend further that the Constitution-making body, which is to be composed of provincial representatives, on the allocation of one to every million inhabitants, shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible in order to draft the Constitution in three groups, of Hindu majority provinces, Muslim majority provinces in the north-west, and Muslim majority provinces in the north-east.

The Viceroy hopes to constitute an Interim Government having the support of the main political Parties, to carry on the administration during the period of Constitution-making. All the portfolios in this Government, including War, will be held by Indians.

The following is the full text of the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and H E. the Viceroy.

On March 15, just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India, Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words :

1. "My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as

speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision... I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so. But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view, she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible."

2. Charged in these historic words, we, the Cabinet Ministers, and the Viceroy, have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach an agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi, we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in conference at Simla.

There was a full exchange of views and both the parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement. But it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded.

Since no agreement has been reached, we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new Constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future Constitution of India and that an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic fields.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India, since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule. This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India, it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic or other interests

Sovereign Pakistan

6. We, therefore, examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan, as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas, one in the north-west consisting of the provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-west Frontier and British Baluchistan; the other, in the north-east, consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam The League was prepared to consider the adjustments of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged.

The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based first upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity in include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures (taken from the most recent census in 1941) show.

North-Western Area:—

	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
North-west Frontier province	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,325	1,326,683
Br. Baluchistan	438,930	62,701
	22,653,294	13,840,231
	62·07 per cent	37·93 per cent

North-Eastern Area:—

Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	36,447,913	34,063,345
	51·69 per cent	48·31 per cent

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million, dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League would not solve the communal minority problem, nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those Districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan can equally, in our view, be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

Smaller Pakistan

7. We, therefore, considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan, confined to the Muslim-majority areas alone, might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable, because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab; the whole of Assam except the District of Sylhet; and a large part of Western

Bengal including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23 6 per cent of the population.

We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as they would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of those provinces Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would, of necessity, divide the Sikhs, leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary.

We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

8 Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments, there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India

The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian Armed Forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole and to break them into two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth, the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India

10 Finally, there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some 700 miles and the communications between them, both in war and peace, would be d pendent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are, therefore, unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

Congress Scheme

12. This decision does not, however, blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus, with their greatly superior numbers, must be a dominating element. To meet this, the Congress has put forward a scheme, under which the Provinces would have full autonomy, subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. Under the scheme, the Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India, while other Ministers who dealt with optional subjects, would be responsible only to those provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other provinces which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the centre the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

14. Before putting forward our recommendation, we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that, with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They

have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing the cooperate in the new development of India The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building-up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States We have not, therefore, dealt with the States in the same detail as the provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

15 We now indicate the nature of a solution which, in our view, would be just to the essentinl claims of all the parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable from of consitution for all India,.

Union of India

16. We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form It is not our object to lay out the details of a Constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a Constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future Constitution, because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations, that, not until that had been done, was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join the setting up of the Constitution-making machinery

Constitution-making body

17. We now indicate the Constitution-making machinery which, we propose, should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new Constitution to be worked out

18. In forming any Assembly to decide a new Constitutional structure, the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obvio sly would be by election based on adult franchise, but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new constitution. The only practicable alternative is to utilise the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies There are, ' -ver, two

factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus, Assam, with a population of 10 millions, has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members, while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250. Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the province. Thus, the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48 per cent of the total, although they form 55 per cent of the Provincial population.

After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be :—

(a) To allot to each province a total number of seats proportional to its Population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage ;

(b) To divide this Provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population ; and

(c) To provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that, for these purposes, it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India, General, Muslim, and Sikh, the 'General' community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs. As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements described below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

Representation

19. (i) We, therefore, propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim

or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote :—

Table of Representation

SECTION A.

Province	*General*	*Muslim*	*Total*
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
	167	20	187

SECTION B.

Province	*General*	*Muslim*	*Sikh*	*Total*
Punjab	8	16	4	28
North-West Frontier Province	0	3	0	3
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

SECTION C.

Province	*General*	*Muslim*	*Total.*
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total.	34	36	70

Total for British India	292
Maximum for Indian States	93
	385

NOTE :— [illegible]

To section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly, appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be

determined by consultation. The States would, in the preliminary stage, be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B and C in the table of representation above.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and if so, with what Provincial subjects the group should deal. The Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the groups in accordance with the provisions prescribed below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly, resolutions varying the provisions of the prescribed constitution or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities. The chairman of the Assembly shall decide which, if any, of the resolutions, raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new Constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new Constitution.

Fundamental Rights

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas should contain full

representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group or Union Constitution

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives, and the States to set up a *Negotiating Committee*. It is hoped that the process of Constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power

Interim Government

23. While the Constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India. Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development, which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes, a Government having popular support is necessary. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end and hopes soon to form an interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people. The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of their tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence, we would finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new Constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian parties and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible. We, therefore, now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust, will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that, at this supreme moment in Indian history, statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

Dreadful Alternative

We ask you to consider the alternative to the acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian parties have made together for an agreement, we must state that, in our view, there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian parties alone. The alternative would, therefore, be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen: but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen and the world as a whole. We, therefore, lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope, in any event, that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be, we look forward with you to your ever-increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world and to a future even more glorious than your past.

4. SOME VIEWS AND OPINIONS

Some views and comments on the scheme outlined in the previous chapter may not be irrelevant in this connection

Secretary of State

Speaking at a Press Conference at New Delhi at the time of the publication of the above proposals, the Secretary of State for India, occasionally assisted by Sir S. Cripps, made it clear that what the Mission had announced was not an award. "It was a recommendation as to certain bases for a Constitution, and a decision to summon Indian representatives to make their own Constitution, and therefore, quite clearly, there is no question of enforcing an award. The Constitution recommended by the Mission could not be modified in favour of one Party to the disadvantage of another." Regarding the Native States, the Secretary of State reiterated that Paramountcy would continue in the interim period. He stated that "the Mission had already received indications from most of the principal States and the representatives of large bodies of other States that they had no desire to impede the progress of India towards self-government and independence and that they wanted to co-operate in it"

Lord Wavell

The views of Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, as expressed in a broadcast speech the next day will be read with interest, in view of his references to Indian Unity particularly Thus His Excellency said:

"I speak to the people of India at the most critical hour of India's history. The statement of the Cabinet Delegation containing their recommendations has now been before you for 24 hours. It is a blue-print for freedom, an outline in which you have to fill in the details and construct the building You will have studied the statement most of you, and may perhaps already have formed your opinions on it. If you think that it shows the path to reach the summit at which you have been aiming for so long—the Independence of India,—I am sure you will be eager to take it If you should have formed the view—I hope

you have not—that there is no passage that way, I hope that you will study again the route indicated to you and see whether the difficulties in the path—and we know they are formidable—cannot be surmounted by skill, patience and boldness. I can assure you of this, that very much hard work, very much earnest study, very much anxious thought and all the goodwill and sincerity at our command have gone to the making of these recommendations. We would much rather have preferred that the Indian leaders should have themselves reached an agreement on the course to be followed and we have done our best to persuade them ; but it has not been found possible in spite of concessions on both sides, which, at one time, promised results.

Workable Basis

"These proposals put before you are obviously not those that any one of the parties would have chosen if left to itself; but I do believe that they offer a reasonable and workable basis on which to found India's future Constitution. They preserve the essential Unity of India which is threatened by the dispute between the two major communities; and in special, they remove the danger of the disruption of that great fellowship, the Indian Army, to which India already owes so much and on whose strength, unity and efficiency her future security will depend. They offer to the Muslim community the right to direct their own essential interests, their religion, their education, their culture, their economic and other concerns, in their own way and to their own best advantage. To another great community, the Sikhs, they preserve the unity of their homeland, the Punjab, in which they have played and can still play so important and influential a part. They provide in the special committees which form a feature of the Constitution-making machinery, the best chance for the smaller minorities to make their needs known and to secure protection for their interests. They seek to arrange a means for the Indian States, great and small, to enter by negotiation into the polity of a United India. They offer to India the prospect of peace—a peace from party strife—the peace so needed for all the constructive work there is to do. And they give you the opportunity of Complete Independence as soon as the Constituent Assembly has completed its labours.

Constructive Work

"I would like to emphasise the constructive work to be done. If you can agree to accept the proposals in the statement as a reasonable basis on which to work out your constitution, then we are able at once to concentrate all the best efforts and abilities in India on the short-term problems that are so urgent. You know them well—the immediate danger of famine to be countered, and measures to be taken to provide more food for every one in future years; the health of India to be remedied; great schemes of wider education to be initiated, roads to be built and improved; and much else to be done to raise the standard of living of the common man There are also great schemes in hand to control India's water supplies, to extend irrigation, to provide power, to prevent floods; there are factories to be built and new industries to be started, while in the outside world, India has to take her place in international bodies in which her representatives have already established a considerable reputation. It is, therefore, my earnest desire that in these critical times ahead, in the interim period while the new Constitution is being built, the Government of India should be in the hands of the ablest of India's leaders, men recognised as such by the Indian people, whom they will trust to further their interests and bring them to their goal. As said in the statement, I am charged with the responsibility to form such a Government as soon as possible to direct the affairs of British India in the interim period. There will be no doubt in the minds of any one, I hope, how great a step forward this will be on India's road to Self-Government. It will be a purely Indian Government except for its Head, the Governor-General, and will include, if I can get the men I want, recognised leaders of the main Indian parties, whose influence, ability and desire to serve India are unqestioned. Such a Government must have a profound influence and power not only in India, but also in the outside world. Some of the best ability in India which has hitherto been spent in opposition can be harnessed to construction work. These men can be the architects of new India.

Plea For Goodwill

"No Constitution and no form of Government can work satisfactorily without goodwill. With goodwill

to succeed, even an apparently illogical arrangement can be made to work. In the complex situation that faces us, there are four main parties, the British, the two main parties, Hindus and Muslims, and the Indian States. From all of them, very considerable change of their present outlook will be required as a contribution to its general good, if this great experiment is to succeed. To make a concession in ideas and principles, is a hard thing and not easily palatable. It requires some greatness of mind to recognise the necessity, much greatness of spirit to make the concession. I am sure that this will not be found wanting in India, as I think you will admit that it has not been found wanting in the British people in this offer.

Momentous Experiment

"I wonder whether you realise that this is the greatest and most momentous experiment in Government in the whole history of the world—a new Constitution to control the destiny of 400,000,000 people. A grave responsibility indeed rests on all of its leaders who are privileged to assist in making it.

"Lastly, I must emphasise the seriousness of the choice before you. It is the choice between peaceful construction or the disorder of civil strife, between co-operation or disunity, between ordered progress or confusion. I am sure you will not hesitate in your choice for co-operation.

"May I end with some words which were quoted by one great man to another at a crisis of the late war and may well be applied to India at this crisis?

> "Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State, sail on,
> O Union, strong and great, Humanity with all its Fears,
> With all the Hopes of future years,
> Is hanging breathless on thy Fate."

Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi's reaction to the scheme can be gleaned from the following post-prayer speech dated 19th May at New Delhi. "I told you yesterday to examine, independently of other people's opinions, the statement of the Cabinet Delegation. You must examine it not from a parochial standpoint but from the

point of view of the whole country, you should examine it from the point of view of a country which will be without sorrow or suffering. Every one must think for himself or herself. You must weigh your opinions and adopt only those you have assimilated." Mr. Gandhi said he had glanced at the document casually last night He read it again carefully in the morning. It was not an award. The Mission and the Viceroy had tried to bring the Parties together; but they could not bring about an agreement So they had recommended to the country what, in their opinion, was worthy of acceptance to the Constituent Assembly It was open to that body to vary the recommendations, reject them or improve upon them.

"There was no 'take it or leave it' business about their recommendations. If there were restrictions, the Constituent Assembly would not be a sovereign body, free to frame a constitution of independence for India Thus, the Mission had suggested for the Centre certain subjects It was open to the Assembly, by the majority vote of Muslims and non-Muslims separately, to add to them or even reduce them

"It was good that they were not described as Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and other religious communities. That was an advance. What they aimed at was the absence of all religious divisions for the whole of India as a political entity, and it was open to the Assembly to abolish the distinction which the Mission had felt forced to recognise.

"Similarly about grouping The Provinces were free to reject the very idea of grouping. No province could be forced against its will to belong to a group, even if the idea of grouping was accepted. He instanced only two things to illustrate his point He had not exhausted the list of things which seemed to him open to objection or improvement.

"Subject to the above interpretation which he held was right, he would tell them that the Mission had brought forth something of which they have every reason to be proud. There were some who said the English were incapable of doing the right thing. He did not agree with them. The Mission and the Viceroy were as God-fearing as they themselves claimed to be. It was [illegible] their dignity as men to doubt a person before

untrue to the world. Whatever the wrong done to India by British rule, if the statement of the Mission was genuine, as he believed it was, it was in discharge of an obligation they had declared the British owed to India, namely, to get off India's back. It contained the seed to convert this land of sorrow into one without sorrow and suffering."

"The able but melancholy document—we are bound to review the situation in the light of the existing facts," is the comment of Mr. Churchill on the scheme.

In a further statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on the 25th May, the proposed interim Government of India was foreshadowed as follows. It will be observed that the statement took into consideration the views of the Congress and the League leaders on the Delegation's proposals.

"The Delegation have considered the statement of the President of the Muslim League dated May 22, and the resolution dated May 24 of the Working Committee of the Congress. The position is that, since the Indian leaders, after prolonged discussion, failed to arrive at an agreement, the Delegation put forward their recommendations as the nearest approach to reconciling the views of the two main parties. The scheme stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of co-operation.

"It is a consequence of the system of election that a few Europeans can be elected to the Constituent Assembly. Whether the right so given will be exercised is a matter for them to decide.

"The representative of Baluchistan will be elected in a joint meeting of the Shahi Jirga and the non-official members of the Quetta Muncipality.

"In Coorg, the whole Legislative Council will have the right to vote, but the official members will receive instructions not to take part in the election.

"The interpretation put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the statement to the effect that the Provinces in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed does not accord with the Delega-

tion's intentions The reasons for the grouping of the Provinces are well-known, and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties. The right to opt out of the groups after the constitution-making has been completed will be exercised by the people themselves, since at the first election under the new Provincial Constitution, this question of opting out will obviously be a major issue and all those entitled to vote under the new franchise will be able to take their share in a truly democratic decision.

"The Delegation wish also to refer briefly to a few points that have been raised in the statement and resolution.

"The authority and the functions of the Constituent Assembly and the procedure which it is intended to follow are clear from the Cabinet Delegation's statement Once the Constituent Assembly is formed and working on this basis, there is no intention of interfering with its discretion or questioning its labours His Majesty's Government will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, subject only to two matters which are mentioned in the statement and which, we believe, are not controversial, namely, an adequate provision for the protection of the minorities (paragraph 20 of the statement) and the willingness to conclude a Treaty with H. M G to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power (paragraph 22 of the statement).

"The question of how the States' representatives should be appointed to the Constituent Assembly is clearly one which must be discussed with the States. It is not a matter for decision by the Delegation.

"It is agreed that the Interim Government will have a new basis. That basis is that all portfolios, including that of the War Member, will be held by Indians; and that the members will be selected in consultation with the Indian political parties. These are very significant changes in the Government of India and a long step towards independence. H. M. G. will recognise the effect of these changes, will attach the fullest weight to them and will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of India.

" As the Congress statement recognises, the present constitution must continue during the interim period; and the Interim Government cannot therefore be made legally responsible to the Central Legislature.

" There is, however, nothing to prevent the members of the Government individually or by common consent from resigning if they fail to pass an important measure through the Legislature or if a vote of no-confidence is passed against them.

" There is, of course, no intention of retaining British troops in India against the wishes of an independent India under the new Constitution; but during the interim period, which, it is hoped, will be short, the British Parliament has, under present constitution, the ultimate responsibility for the security of India, and it is necessary, therefore, that British troops should remain."

5. THE CONGRESS AND LEAGUE VIEWPOINTS

Before proceeding further, it will be useful, for historical reasons, to record the viewpoints of the Congress and the League parties, as provided from their correspondence with the Cabinet Delegation which was published at that time. It will be recalled that the League was the first to formulate such 'demands'.

League's Offer to Congress

Memorandum by the President of the Muslim League embodying minimum demands by way of an offer in accordance with the Conference decision dated May 16, 1946. (Copies sent to the Cabinet Delegation and the Congress)

Principles to be agreed to as our offer.—

"1 The six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, N. W. F. P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one group and will deal with all other subjects and matters except Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications necessary for Defence which may be dealt with by the Constitution-making bodies of the two groups of provinces—Muslim Provinces (hereinafter named Pakistan group) and Hindu Provinces—sitting together.

"2. There shall be a separate Constitution-making body for the six Muslim Provinces named above, which will frame constitutions for the group and the provinces in the group and will determine the list of subjects that shall be provincial and central (of the Pakistan Federation), with residuary sovereign powers vesting in the provinces.

"3. The method of election of the representatives to the Constitution-making body will be such as would secure proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their population in each province of the Pakistan group.

"4 After the constitutions of the Pakistan Federal Government and the provinces are finally framed by the Constitution-making body, it will be open to any province of the group to decide to opt out of its group, provided the wishes of the people of that province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

"5. It must be open to discussion in the joint Constitution-making body as to whether the Union will have a legislature or not. The method of providing the Union with finance should also be left for the decision of the joint meeting of the two Constitution-making bodies, but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

"6. There should be parity of representation between the two groups of provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature if any.

"7. No major point in the Union Constitution which effects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed in the joint Constitution-making body unless the majority of the members of the Constitution-making body of the Hindu provinces and the majority of the Constitution-making body of the Pakistan group, present and voting, are separately in its favour.

"8. No decision, legislative, executive or administrative, shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature except by a majority of three-fourths.

"9. In group and provincial Constitutions, fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and other matters affecting the different communities will be provided for.

"10. The Constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any province can, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of ten years.

"These are the principles of our offer for a peaceful and amicable settlement and this offer stands in its entirety and all matters mentioned herein are inter-dependent."

Congress Proposals

Points suggested on behalf of the Congress as a basis for agreement, May 12, 1946 :

"1. The Constituent Assembly to be formed as follows:—

"(i) Representatives shall be elected by each Provincial Assembly by proportional representation (single transferable vote). The number so elected should be one-fifth of the number

of members of the Assembly and they may be members of the Assembly or others.

"(ii) Representatives from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India. How these representatives are to be chosen is to be considered later.

"2 The Constituent Assembly shall draw up a Constitution for the Federal Union. This shall consist of an All-India Federal Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental Rights, Currency, Customs and Planning, as well as such other subjects as on closer scrutiny may be found to be intimately allied to them. The Federal Union will have necessary powers to obtain for itself the finances it requires for these subjects and the power to raise revenues in its own right The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the Constitution and in grave public emergencies.

"3 All the remaining powers shall vest in the provinces or units.

"4. Groups of provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the provincial subjects which they desire to take in common.

"5. After the Constituent Assembly has decided the Constitution for the All-India Federal Union as laid down in paragraph 2 above, the representatives of the provinces may form groups to decide the provincial constitutions for their group, if they wish a Group constitution.

"6. No major point in the All-India Federal Constitution which effects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present in the Assembly and voting are separately in its favour. Provided that, in case there is no agreement on any such issue, it will be referred to arbitration. In case of doubt as to whether any point is a major communal issue, the Speaker will decide or if so desired, it may be referred to the Federal Court.

"7. In the event of a dispute arising in the process of Constitution-making, the specific issue shall be referred to [illegible]tion.

" 8. The Constitution should provide machinery for its revision at any time subject to such checks as may be devised. If so desired, it may be specifically stated that this whole Constitution may be reconsidered after ten years ".

Congress criticism of League Proposals

Note by the Congress on the principles to be agreed upon as *suggested on behalf of the Muslim League, dated May 12, 1946.*

" The approach of the Muslim League is so different from that of the Congress in regard to these matters that, it is a little difficult to deal with each point separately without reference to the rest. The picture as envisaged by the Congress is briefly given in a separate note. From a consideration of this note and the Muslim League's proposals, the difficulties and the possible agreements will become obvious.

" The Muslim League's proposals are dealt with below briefly.

" (1) We suggest that the proper procedure is for one Constitution-making body or Constituent Assembly to meet for the whole of India and later for groups to be formed if so desired by the Provinces concerned. The matter should be left to the provinces and if they wish to function as a group, they are at liberty to do so and to frame their own Constitution for the purpose. In any event, Assam has obviously no place in the group mentioned and the North-West Frontier Province, as the elections show, is not in favour of this proposal.

" (2) We have agreed to residuary powers, apart from the Central subjects, vesting in the Province. They can make such use of them as they like and as has been stated above, function as a group. What the ultimate nature of such a group may be cannot be determined at this stage and should be left to the representatives of the provinces concerned.

" (3) We have suggested that the most suitable method of election would be by single transferable vote. This would give proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their present representation in the legislature. If the population proportion is taken, we have no particular objection, but this would lead to difficulties in all the provinces where there is weightage in favour of certain communities. The principle approved of would necessarily apply to all the provinces.

"(4) There is no necessity for opting out of a province from its group as the previous consent of the province is necessary for joining the group

"(5) We consider it essential that the Federal Union should have a Legislature. We also consider it essential that the Union should have power to raise its own revenue

"(6 & 7) We are entirely opposed to parity of representation as between groups of provinces in the Union Executive or Legislature We think that the provision to the effect that no major communal issue in the Union Constitution shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present and voting in the Constituent Assembly are separately in its favour, is a sufficient and simple safeguard for all the minorities. *We have suggested something wider and* including all communities than has been proposed elsewhere. This may give rise to some difficulties in regard to small communities but all such difficulties can be got over by reference to arbitration We are prepared to consider the method of giving effect to the principle so as to make it more feasible

"(8) This proposal is so sweeping in its nature that no Government or Legislature can function at all. Once we have safeguarded major commuual issues, other matters, whether controversial or not, require no safeguards This will simply mean safeguarding vested interests of all kinds and preventing progress or indeed any movement in any direction We therefore entirely disapprove of it.

"(9) We are entirely agreeable to the inclusion of Fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and like matters in the Constitution We suggest that the proper place for this is the All-India Federal Union Constitution. There should be uniformity in regard to these Fundamental rights all over India The Constitution of the Union will inevitably contain provisions for its revision It may also contain a provision for its full reconsideration at the end of ten years. The matter will be open then for a complete reconsideration. Though it is implied, we would avoid reference to secession as we do not wish to encourage this idea".

6. WHY NO LEAGUE-MAHASABHA SOLUTION?

The Indian political problem was made out to be a Hindu-Muslim problem mostly. The Congress swore—and that is the position of its protagonists even to-day—that it was no Hindu *Sic* Communal organisation, but a National organisation instead. The Muslim League, on the other hand, was an avowedly communal organisation, out to represent the eight or nine crores of Musalmans in the country. Then who represented the thirty crores of Hindus? And were there any attempts ever made, either by the alien Britisher or the native Congress, to bring the Hindu and Muslim leaders together and to try to hold the scales, never mind whether evenly or otherwise, between them both? These are relevant questions; and ought to be answered before proceeding any further.

During the period about which we are speaking, it should not be supposed that the Hindus were quite an orphaned community. True, the great bulk of them had joined the Congress, and from Mahatma Gandhi down to the village Volunteer, at least ninety per cent of the Congress men and women came from the Hindu fold. It was a strange spectacle—the Hindus supplying the man-and-money-power of the Congress organisation; and yet the Congress deciding these Hindu-Muslim questions behind the back of the Hindus. It was so in 1916—at the time of the Congress-League Pact. It was so in 1921—when the Khilafat Flag was raised as high as the National Flag in the Congress Pandals. It was so in 1934, when the Congress would "neither accept nor reject" the Communal Award of the British Premier, or at the time of the Cripps' visit in 1942, when the Congress "could not think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in the Indian Union against their declared and established will," and thus practically conceded the principle of vivisection. And finally, in 1947, at the time of the Mountbatten Agreement, it was so—when the Congress agreed to the partition without any reference absolutely to any Hindu leader or organisation. But I was saying that the Hindus of those days were not an orphaned race. And there was the fairly well-organised Hindu Mahasabha particularly, led by the veterans

Veer Savarkar, Bhai Paramanand and Dr. Moonje, which had the honour of being represented even on the Viceroy's Executive Council by the late Sir Jwalaprasad Sreevatsava But the consistent policy of the British Government in those days—when Lord Linlithgow brought together both Gandhiji and Mr Jinnah in his house in 1939, at the time of the Simla Conference of Lord Wavell in 1945, or of the visit of the Cabinet Delegation in 1946, or of the Mountbatten Agreement in 1947—was to treat the Congress as the predominently Hindu organisation and the League as the sole representative of the Muslims But the question remains, why no attempts were made practically to bring together the Hindu Sabha and the League, as representing the great Hindu and the Muslim communities, for solving the ticklish Hindu-Muslim problem which either the Congress or the British Government could not solve ultimately without breaking up the traditional Indian Unity by which the Congress swore by the lip, and which was a historic contribution of the British Raj in India ?

In an article entitled "Let Jinnah and Savarkar Unite", in my "Goshthi" of August 1941, I myself wrote:—

"How to achieve Hindu-Muslim Unity or at least an understanding between both the communities at the present juncture ? So far as the Hindus are concerned, I have shown elsewhere the imperative need to unify all Hindudom under the lead of Veer Savarkarji. In my view, great harm has been done by the divided leadership of Hindus during recent years, as between the Congress and the Hindu Sabha. Originally, the best Hindu brains—Tilak, Lajapat Rai, Sri Aurobindo, Pandit Malaviaji, Swami Shraddhanand and Dr Moonje—were all in the Congress. But many of them broke away latterly owing to differences. The time has come, however, for bridging up those differences.

"If Veer Savarkar can thus represent the Hindus, who should speak on behalf of the Musalmans ? Mr. Jinnah undoubtedly. Because, during recent years, Mr. Jinnah and his League have shown themselves to be the undisputed leaders of Indian Islamic interests. And if a straight vote is taken today, say, as between Mr. Jinnah and the august Congress President, we

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what could be the cause? One cannot say exactly, but one might guess, according to one's lights.

So far as the British Government were concerned, it is probable that they might have considered the Congress to be sufficiently denationalised for a willing shake-hand and the Mahasabha to be too indigenous and even too upright for an embrace. In other words, they might have thought the Congress would be much more willing to yield in terms of compromise with principles than the Hindu Sabha people. Put in another way, there was possibly a much greater "spiritual affinity" between the Congress and the British than between the Hindu Sabha and the latter. The political extremism of leaders like Veer Savarkar, in contrast to the studied moderation of the Congress leaders, Gandhiji and Nehru included, might have lent support to this "unity of hearts"; and where the Hindu Sabha people made no effort to divide the Congress and the League or the Congress and the British Government and where the electorate itself had voted outright in favour of the Congress, as opposed to the Hindu Sabha, it stands to outward justification at any rate, that the Britisher chose the Congress in preference to the Hindu Sabha.

Likewise, Mr. Jinnah must have been sure that, any day, he could wring out very much better terms and conditions from Gandhiji and Nehru than from Veer Savarkar and Dr Moonje, as he actually did in the long run. The former had set up a huge premium upon Independence and Hindu-Muslim Unity, for which they were prepared to pay any price, even the integrity of the country. And Mr. Jinnah, astute as he was, could exploit the situation to his advantage The Congress, too, had opportunist politicians like Mr. C R and Mr. G D Birla, who could be counted upon among the Hindus, and as for Musalmans, the presence of Azad, Asaf Ali and Syed Mohamad was a guarantee to restrain the Congress leadership in favour of the League. The Ahimsa of Gandhiji, similarly, was a point of vantage for the *bullying Musalman; and no wonder that Mr Jinnah, as a realist,* took full advantage of the situation

About the attitude of the Congress towards the Hindu Sabha, what shall I say? The former could neither meet the Britisher in battle nor defeat the League leaders diplomatically. Frankly, its overwhelming strength came from the Hindus. The Hindu

Sabha itself, under Veer Savarkar especially, was not yielding to anybody either in patriotism or in suffering and sacrifices. But never, never, not even once did the Congress try to take the Mahasabha leaders into its confidence or to enlist the Mahasabha's support for facing either the Britisher or the League. In 1942 August, on the eve of Quit India, when Veer Savarkar offered to join hands with the Congress for driving out the Britisher from India, Mahatma Gandhi's reply was an invitation for Mr. Jinnah to establish Pakistan through the Congress! Earlier, Veer Savarkar, Dr. Moonje and others gave certain terms for a Congress-Hindu Sabha co-operation during the War; but the Congress leadership would not respond.

And lastly, about the role of the Hindu Sabha in this tragic tale. Sir Stafford Cripps once said that he himself had flown twenty thousand miles to and fro to meet the Indian leaders; but the latter would not cross the street in New Delhi to meet their friends in the opposite house. I think, it was literally true of the Indian situation of the days of which we are speaking. When Cripps came here in 1942, when the Cabinet Mission arrived in 1946, or at the time of the Mountbatten plan, there were no efforts made absolutely towards any all-party or even inter-party *pourparlers* or consultations. Let alone the Muslim League which was out to cut itself out of India. What about the other parties—the Congress, Hindu Sabha, Sikhs, Princes and others? Sometime after the Cripps' Mission, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru convened a multi-party Conference; but its objective was limited to seek a way-out of the Indian deadlock and to draft the principles of a new Constitution. Everybody was anxious to get the Congress out of Jails; but once the Congress was free, it would, as a rule, set its back on all those parties and persons that had helped it to its freedom. Apart from it, so far as the Hindu Mahasabha was concerned, of course, it was too much unorganised and far less formidable a force than the Congress to think of a full-fledged Freedom-fight with the British authority in the country. It had to challenge both the Congress and the British Government here; and had not got the necessary man- or money-power for the purpose. The failure of the diplomatic front of the Mahasabha was another contributory cause for the tragedy of the Indian situation.

7. H.M.G. STATEMENTS OF 6-12-1946 AND 20-2-47

In the foregoing chapters, we have read about the Cabinet Mission's scheme and about some of the more important views and opinions upon its provisions We can now proceed to a rapid review of the events of the transitional period, between the announcement of the Cabinet Mission scheme and the formulation of the Mountbatten plan.

The Cabinet Mission's scheme, we have seen, was announced on the 16th May, 1946; and it was accepted by the Congress, the League and the Princes Elections to the Constituent Assembly took place in July, 1946 Out of 210 'General' seats, the Congress captured 199; out of 78 Muslim seats, the League captured 73 As several other seats were captured by the nominees and allies of the Congress, it could count upon an allegiance of 211 members in an Assembly of 296 This commanding position of the Congress alarmed Mr. Jinnah On July 29, 1946, the Muslim League resolved to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals, as also to resort to "direct action" to achieve Pakistan. On August 16th, began the great 'Killing in Calcutta'; and in October 1946, the Muslims of the two Muslim-majority districts of Noakhali and Tipperah in Bengal fell upon their Hindu neighbours and committed horrible murders and other unspeakable atrocities. Riots then broke out in some parts of Bihar and U. P. and in Bombay. Meanwhile, Pandit Nehru formed an Interim Government, consisting of Congress nominees, which assumed office on September 2, 1946 It will be rememberd that the Cabinet Mission attached the greatest importance to the setting up of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. But Mr. Jinnah's co-operation was asked for and refused. Lord Wavell continued his negotiations with the League leader, as a result of which, five of its nominees joined the Interim Government on October 26, 1946 The Congress and the League blocs within the Interim Government could not pull together. Even after joining the Interim Government, the League persisted in its refusal to join the Constituent Assembly. The British Government invited the Viceroy and the representatives of the Congress, the League and the Sikhs to go to London to discuss the basis of a common understanding between

the Congress and the League. Mr. Nehru on behalf of the Congress, and Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the League, attended that Conference. After discussions, the British Government issued a statement on December 6, 1946, as follows:—

"The conversations held by H.M.G. with Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh came to an end this evening. The object of the conversations has been to obtain the participation and co-operation of all parties in the Constituent Assembly. It was not expected that any final settlement could be arrived at since the Indian representatives must consult their colleagues before any final decision is reached.

"The main difficulty that has arisen has been over the *interpretation of Paragraph 19 (v) and (viii) of the Cabinet* Mission's statement of May 16, relating to the meetings in sections. The Cabinet Mission have throughout maintained the view that decisions of sections should, in the absence of agreement to the contrary, be taken by simple majority vote of the representatives in the sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslim League, but the Congress has put forward a different view. They have asserted that the true meaning of the statement read as a whole is that Provinces have a right to decide both as to groupings and as to their own Constitutions.

"H.M.G. have had legal advice which confirms that the statement of May 16th means what the Cabinet Mission have *always stated was their intention. This must therefore be* considered an essential part of the scheme of May 16, for enabling the Indian people to formulate a new Constitution which H.M.G. would be prepared to submit to Parliament. It should therefore be accepted by all parties in the Constituent Assembly.

"It is however clear that other questions of interpretation of the statement of May 16th may arise. And H. M. G. hope that, if the Council of Muslim League are able to agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly, they will also agree, as have the Congress, that the Federal Court should be asked to decide the matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side and accept such decisions so that the procedure both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the sections may accord with the Cabinet Mission's plan.

"On the matter immediately in dispute, H M G. urge the Congress to accept the view of the Cabinet Mission in order that the way may be opened for the Muslim League to reconsider their attitude. If, in spite of this reaffirming of the intention of the Cabinet Mission, the Constituent Assembly desires that this fundamental point should be referred for decision of the Federal Court, such a reference should be made at a very early date. It will then be reasonable that meetings of the sections of the Constituent Assembly should be postponed until the decision of the Federal Court is known

"There has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except upon the basis of an agreed procedure. Should a Constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, H M. G could not of course contemplate—as Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a Constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country".

"This statement", the historians tell us, "was accepted by the Congress in the hope that the League would then join the Constituent Assembly. But Mr. Jinnah refused to change his policy".

But the real sting in this statement of December 6th lies in its tail. "Should a Constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented", the statement opined, "His Majesty's Government could not of course contemplate... forcing such a Constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country". But was it not declared previously that no minority could hold up the progress of the Constituent Assembly?* Apart from it, the statement quotes the Congress against itself—the nefarious clause of the 1942 April Working Committee Resolution reading, "Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling..." What a clever people, these British rulers are!

The first session of the Constituent Assembly met at New Delhi on December 9th, 1946 It was the next day to a Lunar

* Mr. Attlee's declaration, dated 15—3—'46.

eclipse, *Grahana Shula* in other words. For those who are superstitiously minded, it foreboded evil. And no wonder that, ere long, the Assembly broke into twain.

The Muslim League boycotted the session. After the swearing-in ceremony of those present, with Dr. Sachidananda Sinha, the oldest member of the House, as temporary Chairman, the session was adjourned. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, a veteran Congress leader, was elected President of the Assembly; and Dr. H. E. Mookerji, later Governor of West Bengal, the Deputy President. When the House met again next month, a resolution on the declaration of the main objectives was moved by Pandit Nehru and adopted on January 22, 1947, the Muslim League still abstaining from its deliberations. The resolution laid down the principle that India would be an "Independent Sovereign Republic". The Constitution Drafting Committee, however, changed it subsequently as "Sovereign Democratic Republic".

As the Muslim League continued to boycott the Constituent Assembly, the political situation in the country grew worse day by day. The British Government, therefore, reviewed the situation in India and issued another policy statement on 20th February, 1947. The statement reads as below:

"It has long been the policy of successive British Governments to work towards the realisation of self-Government in India. In pursuance of this policy, an increasing measure of responsibility has been devolved on Indians, and to-day the Civil administration and the Indian Army Forces rely to a very large extent on Indian civilians and officers. In the Constitutional field, the Acts of 1919 and 1935 passed by the British Parliament each represented a substantial transfer of political power. In 1940, the Coalition Government recognised the principle that Indians themselves should frame a new Constitution for a fully autonomous India, and in the offer of 1942, they invited them to set up a Constituent Assembly for this purpose as soon as the war was over.

"His Majesty's Government believe this policy to have been right and in accordance with sound democratic principles. Since they came into office, they have done their utmost to

carry it forward to its fulfilment. The declaration of the Prime Minister of March 15 last, which met with general appproval in Parliament and the country, made it clear that it was for the Indian people themselves to choose their future status and Constitution and that, in the opinion of H M Government, the time had come for responsibility for the Government of India to pass into Indian hands.

"The Cabinet Mission which was sent to India last year spent over three months in consultation with Indian leaders to help them to agree upon a method for determining the future Constitution of India, so that the transfer of power might be smoothly and rapidly effected. It was only when it seemed clear that, without some initiative from the Cabinet Mission, agreement was unlikely to be reached, that they put forward proposals for themselves. These proposals, made public in May last, envisaged that the future Constitution of India should be settled by a Constituent Assembly composed, in the manner suggested therein, of representatives of all communities and interests in British India and of the Indian States

"Since the return of the Mission, an Interim Government has been set up at the Centre, composed of the political leaders of the major communities exercising wide powers within the existing constitution In all the Provinces, Indian Governments responsible to Legislatures are in office.

"It is with great regret that H. M. Government find that there are still differences among Indian parties which are preventing the Constituent Assembly from functioning as it was intended that it should It is of the essence of the Plan that the Assembly should be fully representative.

"H. M. Government desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a Constitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's plan. But *unfortunately, there is at present no clear prospect that such a* Constitution and such authorities will emerge The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged H. M Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948.

"This great sub-continent, now containing over four-hundred million people, has, for the last century, enjoyed peace and security as a part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Continued peace and security are more than ever necessary today, if the full possibilities of economic development are to be realised and a higher standard of life attained by the Indian people. H.M Government are anxious to hand over their responsibilities to a Government which, resting on the sure foundation of the support of the people, is capable of maintaining peace and administering India with justice and efficiency. It is, therefore, essential that all parties should sink their differences in order that they may be ready to shoulder the great responsibilities which will come upon them next year.

"After months of hard work by the Cabinet Mission, a great measure of agreement was obtained as to the method by which a Constitution should be worked out. This was embodied in their statement of May last. H. M. Government therefore agreed to recommend to Parliament a Constitution worked out in accordance with the proposals made therein by a fully representative Constituent Assembly. But if it should appear that such a Constitution will not have been worked out by a fully representative Assembly before the time mentioned in paragraph 7, H. M. Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people.

"Although the final transfer of authority may not take place until June, 1948, preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance. It is important that the efficiency of the civil administration should be maintained and that the defence of India should be fully provided for. But inevitably, as the process of transfer proceeds, it will become progressively more difficult to carry out to the letter all the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. Legislation will be introduced in due course to give effect to the final transfer of power.

"In regard to the Indian States, as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, H.M. Government do not intend to hand

over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any Government of British India It is not intended to bring paramountcy, as a system, to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but it is contemplated that, for the intervening period, the relations of the Crown with individual States may be adjusted by individual agreement

"His Majesty's Government will negotiate agreements in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power with the representatives of those to whom they propose to transfer power.

"H. M Government believe that British commercial and industrial interests in India can look forward to a fair field for their enterprise under the new conditions. The commercial connection between India and the U K has been long and friendly, and will continue to be to their mutual advantage.

"H M Government cannot conclude this statement without expressing, on behalf of the people of the country, their goodwill and good wishes towards the people of India as they go forward to this final stage in their achievement of Self-government It will be the wish of every one in these Islands that, notwithstanding constitutional changes, the association of the British and Indian peoples should not be brought to an end, and they will wish to continue to do all that is in their power to further the well-being of India."

"Thus", write the historians, "the decision of the Cabinet Mission to maintain the unity of India was reversed, and the possibility of establishing Pakistan was clearly recognised." *

Commenting on the above policy, Pandit Nehru said. "The statement made by Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons on February 20, in regard to Indian Policy, has received and is receiving the earnest attention of all those who are vitally interested in bringing the present transitional period to a satisfactory conclusion. The statement is obscure in some parts and requires careful consideration The outstanding feature of it, however, is the decision of the British Government to transfer power to Indian hands not later than June, 1948. It has further been stated that preparatory measures must be put in hand in

* Sinha and Banerjee, "History of India," P. 655.

advance. This is important, as only thus can we secure a rapid and effective transference of power within this period.

"My colleagues and I are giving the fullest thought to this statement, and early next month the Congress Working Committee will meet and give its considered views on the new situation that has arisen. I should like to say, however, even at this stage that the decision of the British Government is a wise and courageous one. The clear and definite declaration that the final transference of power will take place by a date not later than June, 1948, not only removed all misconception and suspicion, but also brings reality and a certain dynamic quality to the present situation in India. That decision will undoubtedly have far-reaching consequences and puts a burden and responsibility on all concerned.

"It is a challenge to all of us, and we shall try to meet it bravely in the spirit of that challenge. I trust that we shall all endeavour to get out of the ruts and end the internal conflicts that have frustrated our efforts and delayed our advance, and accept this burden and responsibility, keeping only the Independence and advancement of India in view.

"The work of the Constituent Assembly must now be carried on with greater speed so that the new and Independent India may take shape and be clothed with a Constitution worthy of her and bring relief and opportunity to all her children. In this great work, we invite afresh all those who have kept aloof, and we ask all to be partners in this joint and historic undertaking, casting aside fear and suspicion which ill-become a great people on the eve of freedom. The Constituent Assembly, however constituted. can only proceed with its work on a voluntary basis. There can be no compulsion except the compulsion of events which none can ignore. The moment British rule goes, the responsibility for the governance of India must inevitably rest on her people and their representatives alone. They will have to shoulder that responsibility. Why then should we not accept this responsibility now and work together to find integrated solutions of our problems? No external authority is going to help or hinder us in future."

We may conclude this chapter with a reference to the change in the Indian Viceroyalty, which was also ordered simultaneously,

For does not a new policy require a new Viceroy ? Lord Wavell, despite his being a military man, was still too much of a civilian and believer in Indian Unity. But the new policy of the British Government in India was downright butchery—"Cutting the Cow into two"—cutting "Mother India" into three. Therefore, on the same fateful 20th Feb, the British Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons thus:

"The House will wish to know of an announcement which is being made public to-day Field Marshal the Rt Hon Viscount Wavell was appointed Viceroy in 1943... It was agreed that this was a war-time appointment. Lord Wavell has discharged this high office during this very difficult period with devotion and a high sense of duty It has, however, seemed that the opening of a new and final phase in India is an appropriate time to terminate this war appointment His Majesty has been pleased to approve, as successor to Lord Wavell, the appointment of Admiral the Viscount Mountbatten, who will be entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India The change of office will take place during March

"The House will be glad to hear that His Majesty has been pleased to approve the conferment of an Earldom on Viscount Wavell," the Prime Minister added.

In passing from the Viceroyalty of Lord Wavell, may we not observe that our leaders, while non-co-operating with two of the noblest and the best Viceroys of India, Viz., Lords Linlithgow and Wavell, willingly took over to serve under the most able but at the same time the most hard-hearted of the statesmen which Britain had ever sent over to India? As between Curzon, Willingdon and Mountbatten, the three Viceroys who did the greatest dis-service to India, Curzon's regime was relieved by his cultural attainments, Lord Willingdon's rule was mitigated by his administrative ability and constitutional propriety; but in Earl Mountbatten, we had the worst butcher that India ever had as a ruler, next only to Taimurlane, with this difference that Taimur's was the barbarous, Mongol butchery of the brute fourteenth century, while Mountbatten's was the civilised, Chri

tian cutting of the twentieth century. The one was a medieval chopping off; the other, an operation under local anaesthesia—so painless for the time being that even the arch-advocate of *Ahimsa*, the Mahatma, would gladly acquiesce and work in support of the new recipe. But if the 'unnatural operation' (to use a phrase of Pandit Nehru himself subsequently) were to grow septic and bleed afterwards and bring about far too many complications for our poor and humble wits and resources in the long run, nay even breed much bitterness, hatred, violence and what not between whole communities and countries in the long run, what does it matter? "After me, the Deluge!"

8. GENESIS OF THE PAKISTAN IDEA

At this stage, we should know something about the genesis and growth of the Pakistan idea, which was soon to burst forth with much fire and sword hereafter. And for this purpose, I shall content myself with quoting the famous historians, Sinha and Banerjee, in their 'History of India'. Thus, under the caption, 'Birth of Pakistan', the learned historians write:

"In 1937, the Muslim League and its leader, Mr. M A Jinnah, occupied an unimportant place in Indian public life. In the elections under the Act of 1935, the League captured only 110 out of a total of 482 Muslim seats in 11 Provinces. When the Congress accepted office, Mr. Jinnah declared that the Muslims could expect neither justice nor fairplay under Congress Government In 1939, the League issued three documents describing 'atrocities' alleged to have been committed by Hindus on Muslims and bringing serious charges against several Congress Ministers Sir Reginald Coupland says: 'An impartial investigator would come to the conclusion that many of those charges were exaggerated or of little serious moment ... .. and that the case against the Congress Government as deliberately pursuing an anti-Muslim policy was certainly not proved ... .. However that might be, the indictment of Congress rule was all too easily credited by the Moslem rank and file ......' Naturally, Mr Jinnah's popularity increased in his own community When the Congress Ministries resigned, he declared that the end of the Congress rule in the Provinces should be solemnly celebrated every year by the observance of a 'Deliverance Day'.

"Soon after the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, Mr. Jinnah began to preach the theory that the Indian Muslims were a 'nation', not a mere community. In an article published in an English journal in January, 1940, he observed: 'There are in India two nations who both must share the governance of their common motherland' In his Presidential address at the Lahore session of the League held in March 1940, he emphasized the differences between Hinduism and Islam. 'They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that Hindus and

Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures .. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the Government of such a state.'

" So the Muslims, argued Mr. Jinnah, must have a state of their own ; they would not 'accept any Constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu-majority Government. They must have a separate state for themselves. That state was to include the Muslim 'homelands', i.e., those areas is north-west and north-east India in which the Muslims were in a majority. This idea was not a discovery of Mr. Jinnah. In 1930, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of the Punjab, made a proposal for the amalgamation of the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan in a single autonomous but not independent state which was to form part of a loose federation of India. In 1933, Chaudhuri Rahmat Ali, a Punjabi student, coined the word 'Pakistan' (Land of the pure). Pakistan was to be a Muslim State consisting of the Punjab (indicated by 'P'), the N.W.F.P. of the Afghan territory (indicated by 'A'), Kashmir (indicated by 'K'), Sind (indicated by 'S') and Baluchistan (indicated by 'Stan'). In 1940, Chaudhuri Rahmat Ali claimed Assam and Hyderabad as integral parts of Pakistan.

"In march 1940, the Lahore session of the League passed a resolution* declaring that no consitutional scheme would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it was based on the following principle: 'that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary; that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent unit shall be autonomous and sovereign.' This resolution did not clearly specify the extent of Pakistan. It spoke of 'units', 'regions', 'areas', '*Zones*' and '*territorial adjustments*'; *there* is no reference to existing political or administrative units. Early in 1942,

* Vide Appendix A for the full resolution.

Mr. Jinnah told Prof. Coupland that Pakistan would be a Muslim State or States comprising the N.W.F.P , the Punjab, and Sind on the one side of India and Bengal on the other'. He did not not claim Baluchistan and Assam, nor did he want Kashmir and Hyderabad In the Memorandum submitted to the Cabinet Mission on May 12, 1946, the League claimed that 'the six Muslim Provinces of the Punjab, N W F P , Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal, Assam shall be grouped together as one Group'. It was never explained why Assam was described as a 'Muslim Province'.

"The separatism which culminated in Pakistan has a long history behind it The British policy of *divide et impera* created a gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims by granting special concessions to the latter Special mention should be made of the system of 'Separate Electorates'. The evil effects of communal representation were so patent that even the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report could not justify it They observed, 'Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens, and it is difficult to see how the changes from this system to national representation is ever to occur'. But they concluded that the pledge given to the Muslims in 1909 could not be repudiated. Mr Ramsay Macdonald's Communal Award not only confirmed but extended the system of communal representation."

Just a few comments on this brief history.

It is not probably a fact that, in 1937, Mr Jinnah occupied an unimportant place in Indian public life Even by 1920, Mr. Jinnah occupied a prominent place in the Indian National Congress; and he had the courage to differ from the Mahatma openly at the Nagpur Congress and withdraw from that august assembly. Had he continued in the Congress, he would have become its President long, long before 1937. At the three Round Table Conferences, be played no mean part, though his influence was outshone by that illustrious Moslem Prince of Horse-Race fame, H. H. The late Aga Khan. And even the 110 out of 482 Moslem seats won by the League in 1937 could not be called unimportant. Mr. Jinnah and the League in Indian politics were steadily rising Stars; and it stands to Mr. Jinnah's credit—what-

over his creed be—that, for a number of years, he subordinated his lucrative practice at the Bar and devoted himself entirely to build up first an organisation, then a nationality, and finally a *State for his fellow-Muslim countrymen, all within a period of a* decade or less.

Secondly, the word 'Pakistan', meaning the 'Land of the Pure' or Holy Land as we might call it, is nothing objectionable in itself; though the concept of a division of one country into two *or more independent parts and the imputation of the other state* being 'Non-Paki', or impure is rather unfortunate and unhappy. Personally, I would have preferred the whole land being called as Pakistan, if it came to that, rather than India being divided into two or three parts and some of them going by the name of the 'Land of the Pure'.

As regards the definition of Pakistan territories, without entering into a controversy over it, I would like to refer the reader at this stage to a report of a Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League as early as 1940, called the Haroon Committee. The report was published in my 'Goshthi' of March, 1940, and is reproduced here below for the benefit of the readers.

"The Foreign Committee of the All-India Muslim League has published details of the proposed Pakistan scheme, reads a recent Press report, according to which three main zones are contemplated as follows:—

I. The North-west Zone

"This will consist of Sind, Baluchistan, the Frontier Province and Punjab, with Delhi, and will constitute a sovereign state. These areas are said to have certain racial and cultural affinities and a long historical connection with Muslim life. The suggestion is thrown out that certain portions of Western U. P. might be absorbed into this state. The zone will have a population of 32 millions, of which over 20 millions will be Muslims, or 63%.

II. The North-east Zone

"The second zone will include Assam and Bengal, excluding the districts of Bankura and Midnapur, but taking Purnea from Bihar. Its population will be approximately 57 millions, with 31 million Muslims, or a percentage of 54.

III. The Hyderabad Zone

" Regarding Hyderabad, the Committee suggests that it is no feudatory state nor the creation of the British Government, but an independent state, possessing inherent historic rights, with treaties with the British Government, as an Ally. Certain territories held by the British as Jagirs and Inams, wrongly styled, it seems, as Ceded territories, should go back to Hyderabad when Britsh India achieves Dominion Status. The Muslim League, it is suggested, should concentrate attention on securing the independence and integrity of the expanded Dominion of H.E.H. the Nizam, since it will be a source of infinite strength to the Muslims in India outside the Dominions

IV. Question of Indian States

" Another point considered by the Committee, we are told, is the federation of certain Indian States with these Muslim zones. For instance, it is suggested that Din, Swat, Chitral, Kalat, Lasbella, Khairpur, Bahawalpur, Kapurthala, Patiala, Nabha, Faridkot, Jind, Malerkotla, Loharu, Pataudi, Kashmir and the Simla Hill States could federate with one of the zones, as also certain Rajputana States like Bikaner and Jaisalmere.

V. Transitory Provisions

"Since the all-India Federation, as a permanent Constitution, is not acceptable to Muslims, and at the same time the immediate assumption of full sovereign powers by these zonal areas is not pracaticable, the committee suggests that certain transitory arrangements whereby subjects like Defence, External Affairs, Communications and Safeguards for Minorities, Customs and Voluntary inter-migration, will be administered through a common agency on the basis of equality between Muslims and non-Muslims ' All the original states designated as sovereign and all the states under Princes which will be restored to full sovereignty should, in free agreement, enter into a joint pact to look after, in the name of all the component states, certain specified subjects. It is stated that Residuary powers will vest in the individual states, while in the Executive and other bodies, Muslims will have 50% representation. While each state will develop its own Army, a certain share of the expenditure will come out of the Central Revenues. But the Navy will be entirely

under Central control, subject to such concessions as the Coastal States migh demand. Machinery will be devised to facilitate exchange of populations, particularly Hindus and Muslims, between the different zones". (Vol. IV, No. 7, pp. 137—39)

One or two comments on this seem to be unavoidable. For instance, the report says: "All-India Federation as a permanent constitution is not acceptable to Muslims". And why? Not because it was bad in itself; not because it was opposed to the Muslim thought or sentiment in India; not even because Mr. Jinnah was against it. The Hindu Sabha in those days stood for a unitary central government in India, as opposed to the strong insistence of the League leaders in favour of decentralised administration, minimum control by the Centre, and even the residuary powers being vested in the Provinces for the obvious reason that the Muslims were numerically weak at the Centre, but strong in some Provinces. At the time of the Government of India Act, 1935, there was yet no serious thought or contemplation of a separate Musalman State in India; and Mr. Jinnah himself was too much of a liberal politician to refuse a civilised, unified administration for the whole of India, including the states. And yet the fact remains that the League leaders opposed the All-India Federal idea even when the Congress had supported it in principle.

The key to this opposition is to be found in the attitude of H. E. H. The Nizam in those days. And there are reasons to believe that he was dead opposed to the Federation of his own state, at any rate, with the proposed All-India Federation of the 1935 Act, even as his Hindu subjects were thirsting to get into All-India focus, at least for breathing a little of fresh air outside, and perhaps even to ventilate their grievances on the floor of the Federal Assembly. I was a frequent visitor to Hyderabad in those days; and I can vouch for the feelings of the Hindu leaders of the Dominion at the time. And as for the feelings of the Nizam, the following will serve as a revealing story, to throw much light upon an otherwise obscure corner in our Indian history of the period.

It was in 1937 December—I was on a visit to Hyderabad, when I met the Anglo-Indian leader, Sir Henry Gidney. Mr. Jinnah and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru were also in the City at the

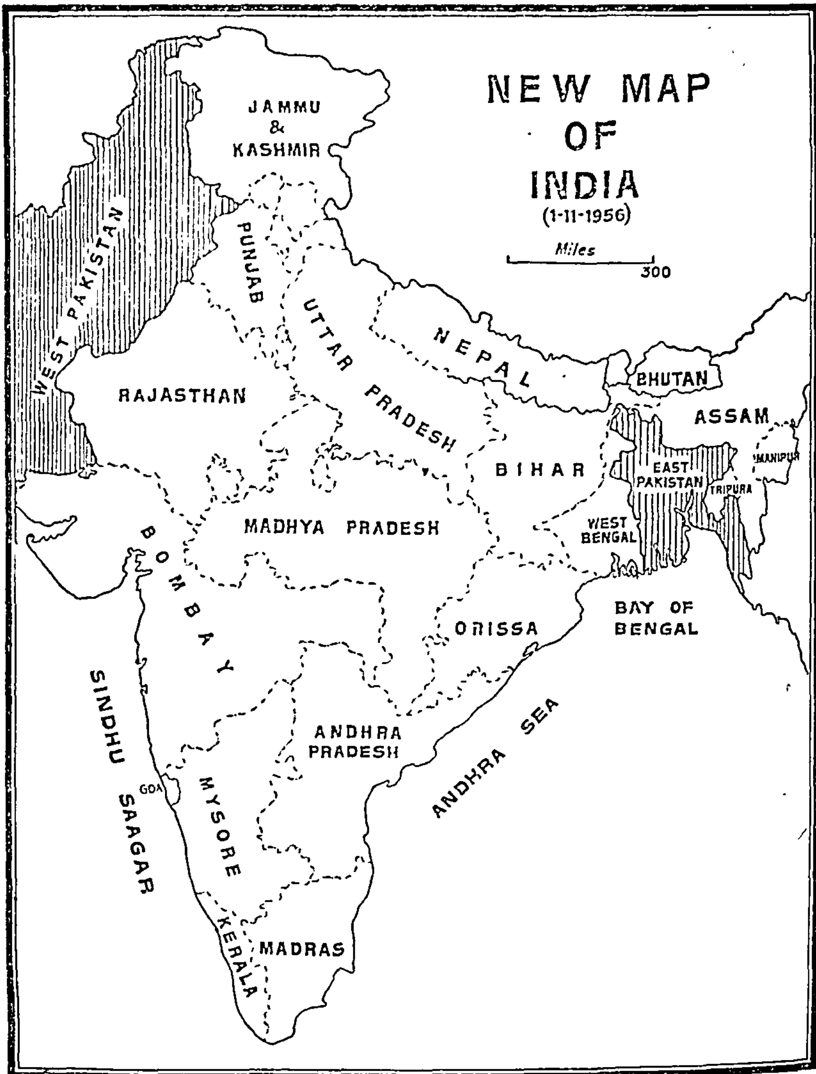
time. And the question engaging the Nizam, was "to join or not to join the All-India Federation." And he was seeking the advice of those leaders upon the question. I do not know what transpired between the Nizam and the other two leaders—I wonder whether any Diaries of these leaders have been written up or preserved; and incidentally, what a poor effort we are making in respect of our securing and publishing such important documents which will be so invaluable for our future historians—but here below is a record of his talks with Sir Henry.

Sir Henry told me that he had four interviews with the Nizam—mostly to represent the grievances of his own communitymen in the State Railway, etc And when he met him, the Nizam persistently asked Sir Henry whether he would advise him to join the Federation "Perhaps you will be losing fourteen annas by joining the Federation, where you may gain a rupee by joining And my advice, therefore, is that you should join, as you will be gaining thereby at least two annas in the net result For five minutes, thereupon, it appears, the Nizam became quite silent; he began to pace to and fro in the room, like a tiger in his cage", Sir Henry said; and then he asked Sir Henry, "If I don't join, do you think they will depose me?" And Sir Henry replied, "I do not think that they will go to that extent But you will be running a risk thereby. And my advice is that you might join on the whole, because it will be slightly better than not joining". After another pause, the Nizam told Gidney, "No, Sir Henry, come what may. I won't join this Federation" And next morning, he must have communicated his decision to both Mr Jinnah and Sir Sapru; and as his faithful friend, Mr Jinnah must have duly conveyed the Nizam's wishes to his Muslim compatriots and incorporated them into the League's policy in due course.

On the question of the proposed 'exchange of populations', I might quote the following from Prof Bali's book, "Now it can be told". "In a meeting of the Panthik Assembly Party and the Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal and Panthik Pratinidhi Board held to discuss the partition of the Punjab on June 13, 1947, at New Delhi, an opinion was expressed that the Boundary Commission should be given an express directive to make recommendations for the transfer of Hindu and Sikh population and property from the western parts of the Punjab to the eastern

parts after the partition had been effectuated on an equitable basis. The conference apprehended that, in the absence of a provision of transfer of population and property, the very purpose of partition would be defeated. The Sikh leaders were, however, too late in making this demand now. Almost two years before when Mr. Jinnah made such a proposal about the transfer of population and property from Pakistan to Hindustan and *vice versa*, there was a chorus of indignant disapproval from almost all parties. From Mahatma Gandhi down to the man in the street, everybody opposed it. Without exception, the entire Congress and Sikh press in the country attacked Mr. Jinnah for what was called his fantastic suggestion. Mr. Jinnah kept quiet. But it shows the greatness of the man that he could visualise the coming events correctly as no one else could do. With a planned exchage of population and property between the two Punjabs and the two Bengals, the independence of India would have been the independence for all."*

*.pp. 62-63


NEW MAP
OF
INDIA
(1-11-1956)
Miles
300
JAMMU
&
KASHMIR
WEST PAKISTAN
PUNJAB
UTTAR PRADESH
NEPAL
BHUTAN
ASSAM
MANIPUR
TRIPURA
EAST PAKISTAN
RAJASTHAN
BIHAR
WEST BENGAL
MADHYA PRADESH
BOMBAY
ORISSA
BAY OF BENGAL
SINDHU SAAGAR
ANDHRA PRADESH
ANDHRA SEA
GOA
MYSORE
KERALA
MADRAS

9. THE MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

From March to June 1947, the months rolled by quickly and more than months, events also changed so thoroughly that not only was the promised Independence expedited from June 1948 or earlier, but the hallowed one India was cut out into two or rather three Indias, viz., India, East Pakistan and West Pakistan, the two last to constitute into one single sovereign State, with the so-called Native states left to shift for themselves. We shall now read the story of that fateful plan evolved by Lord Mountbatten, with the concurrence of the Congress and the League leaders, but let us not fail to observe, without the knowledge of either the Princes of India or of the other political parties of the country. In order to satisfy the curiosity of those of the readers who might be anxious to know the full details of the plan, I shall first give its main features in full. Thus, according to an official statement at that time, the plan reads as follows :—

Introduction

"1. On February 20th, 1947, His Majesty's Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June, 1948. H. M. G. had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working out of the Cabinet Mission's plan of May 16th, 1946, and evolve for India a constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

"2. The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind, as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

"3. It has always been the desire of H. M. G. that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly

facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such an agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved on H. M. G. After full consultation with political leaders in India, H. M. G. have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below. H. M. G. wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India; this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a United India.

Issues to be Decided

"4. It is not the intention of H.M.G. to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain provinces specified below, H. M. G. trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time, it is clear that any constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. H. M. G. are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their constitution is to be framed—

(a) In the existing Constituent Assembly; or

(b) In a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly. When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

Bengal and the Punjab

"5. The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members, will therefore each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts, and the other the rest of the province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim

majority districts in these two provinces are set out in the Appendix to this announcement.

"6. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

(In the Punjab Assembly, there are 37 Hindus, 91 Muslims and 43 Sikhs; and in the Bengal Assembly, 101 Hindus and 118 Muslims.)

"7. Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join, if it were decided by the two parts to remain united

"8. In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in para 4 above to adopt.

"9. For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the Appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts. This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature, as it is evident that, for the purposes of a final partition of these provinces, a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be needed, and as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and

non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used.

Sind

"10. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will, at a special meeting, also take its own decision on the alternative in para 4 above.

N. W. F. P.

"11. The position of the N. W. F. P. is exceptional. Two of the three representatives of this province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly. But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation and other considerations, that, if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the N. W. F. P. an opportunity to reconsider its position. Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the N. W. F. P. to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in para 4 above they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

British Baluchistan

"12. British Baluchistan has elected a member, but he had not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly in view of the geographical situation. This province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in para 4 above to adopt. H. E. the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

Assam

"13. Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is

predominantly Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government, to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new Province of Eastern Bengal if that Province agrees If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal The rest of the Assam province will, in any case, continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

Representation in Constituent Assemblies

"14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's plan of May 16, 1946 Similar elections will also have to be held by Sylhet in the event of its being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled to is as follows :—

Province	*Gen.*	*Muh.*	*Sikhs*	*Total*
Sylhet Dt	1	2	nil	3
W. Bengal	15	4	nil	19
E Bengal	12	29	nil	41
W. Punjab	3	12	2	17
E Punjab	6	4	2	12

"15 In accordance with the mandate given to them, the representatives of the various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.

Administrative Matters.

"16. Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on the administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon :—

(a) Between the representatives of the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government, including Defence, Finance and Communications.

(b) Between different successor authorities and H. M. G. for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power.

(c) In the case of Provinces that may be partitioned, as to administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the Police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions etc.

Tribes of the N. W. Frontier

"17. Agreements with tribes of the N. W. Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.

The States

"18. H. M. G. wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in Cabinet Mission Memorandum of May 12th, 1946, remains unchanged.

Necessity for Speed

"19. In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible To avoid delay, the different provinces or parts of provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan, the existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories. They will of course be free to frame their own rules.

Immediate Transfer of Power

"20. The major political parties have repeatedly emphasised their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire, H. M. G. are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948 for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed, the only practicable way of meeting this desire, H M G. propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a dominion status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

Further Announcements by Governor-General

"21. H. E Governor-General will, from time to time, make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements.

Appendix

Muslim majority districts of Punjab and Bengal according to 1941 census.

The Punjab

Lahore Division:—Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore Sheikhpura, Sialkot

Rawalpindi Division:—Attock Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali Rawalpindi, Shahpur.

Multan Division:—Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh.

Bengal

Chittagong Division:—Chittagong Noakhali Tippera

Dacca Division:—Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur Mymensingh.

P. I.—10

Presidency Division:—Jessore, Murshidabad, Nadia.

Rajashahi Division:—Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajashahi, Rangpur.

Statute of Westminster

"The Statute of Westminster, which received Royal assent on Dec 11, 1931, removed the restrictions on Legislative autonomy of the self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth. Dominion Legislatures may be controlled by the refusal of the Governor's assent to any measure passed; by reservation of a measure for the consideration of the Crown; and refusal of the Crown's assent by a suspendary clause and the refusal of the Royal assent. Subject to such control, Parliaments of a self-governing Dominion exercise within their borders all the ordinary powers of a sovereign Assembly."

10. THE VICEROY SPEAKS

The following is the full text of the broadcast by the Viceroy in introducing the announcement reproduced in the previous chapter.

"Statement will be read to you tonight, giving the final decision of His Majesty's Government as to the method by which power will be transferred from British to Indian hands But before this happens, I want to give a personal message to the people of India, as well as a short account of the discussions which I have held with the leaders of the political parties and which have led up to the advice I tendered to His Majesty's Government during my recent visit to London

"Since my arrival in India at the end of March, I have spent almost every day in consultation with as many of the leaders and representatives of as many communities and interests as possible. I wish to say how grateful I am for all the information and helpful advice they have given me.

"Nothing I have seen or heard in the past few weeks has shaken my firm opinion that, with a reasonable measure of goodwill between the communities, a unified India would be by far the best solution of the problem For more than a hundred years, 400 millions of you have lived together, and this country has been administered as a single entity. This has resulted in unified communications, defence, postal services and currency, an absence of tariffs and customs barriers; and the basis for an integrated political economy. My great hope was that communal differences would not destroy all this

Unity or Division

"My first course, in all my discussions, was therefore to urge the political leaders to accept unreservedly the Cabinet Mission plan of May 16, 1946 In my opinion, which I share with the great fighter for freedom, Mahatma Gandhi, that plan provides the best arrangement that can be devised to meet the interests of all the communities of India To my great regret, it has been impossible to obtain agreement either on the Cabinet

Mission plan, or on any other plan that would preserve the unity of India.

"But there can be no question, as once again I know Mahatma Gandhi agrees, of coercing any large area in which one community has a majority to live against their will under a Government in which another community has a majority. And the only alternative to coercion is partition.

"But when the Muslim League demanded the partition of India, Congress used the same arguments for demanding, in that event, the partition of certain provinces. To my minds, the argument is unassailable. In fact, neither side proved willing to leave a substantial area in which their community have a majority under the Government of the other. I am, of course, just as much opposed to the partition of Provinces as I am to the partition of India herself, and for the same basic reasons. For just as I feel there is an Indian consciousness which should transcend communal differences, so I feel there is a Punjabi and Bengali consciousness which has evoked a loyalty to their Provinces.

People to decide

"And so, I felt, it was essential that the people of India themselves should decide this question of partition. The procedure to enable them to decide for themselves, whether they want the British to hand over power to one or two Governments, is set out in the statement which will be read to you. But there are one or two points on which I should like to add a note of explanation.

"It was necessary in order to ascertain the will of the people of the Punjab, Bengal and part of Assam to lay down boundaries between the predominantly Muslim areas and the remaining areas, but I want to make it clear that the ultimate boundaries will be settled by a Boundary Commission and will almost certainly not be identical with those which have been provisionally adopted.

Position of Sikhs

"We have given careful consideration to the position of the Sikhs. This valiant community forms about an eighth of the

population of the Punjab; but they are so distributed that any partition of this province will inevitably divide them. All of us who have the good of the Sikh community at heart are very sorry to think that the partition of the Punjab, which they themselves desire, cannot avoid splitting them to a greater or lesser extent The exact degree of the split will be left to the Boundary Commission on which they will, of course, be represented The whole plan may not be perfect, but like all plans, its success will depend on the spirit of goodwill with which it is carried out I have always felt that, once it was decided in what way to transfer power, the transfer should take place at the earliest possible moment; but the dilemma was that, if we waited until a constitutional set-up for all-India was agreed, we should have to wait a long time, particularly if partition were decided on. Whereas, if we handed over power before the Constituent Assemblies had finished their work, we should leave the country without a Constitution

"The solution to this dilemma, which I put forward, is that His Majesty's Government should transfer power now to one or two Governments of British India, each having Dominion Status as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made. This, I hope, will be within the next few months

"I am glad to announce that His Majesty's Government have accepted this proposal and are already having legislation prepared for introduction in Parliament this session As a result of these decisions, the special function of the India Office will no longer have to be carried out and some other machinery will be set up to conduct future relations between His Majesty's Government and India.

"I wish to emphasise that this legislation will not impose any restriction on the power of India as a whole or of the new States, if there is partition, to decide in the future their relationship to each other and to other member States of the British Commonwealth

"Thus the way is now open to an arrangement by which power can be transferred many months earlier than the most optimistic of us thought possible, and at the same time leave it to the people of British India to decide for themselves on their future, which is the declared policy of His Majesty's Government.

" I have made no mention of the Indian States, since the new decisions of His Majesty's Government are concerned with the transfer of power in British India.

No Toleration of Violence

" If the transfer of power is to be affected in a peaceful and orderly manner, every single one of us must bend all his efforts to the task. This is no time for bickering; much less for the continuation, in any shape or form, of the disorders and lawlessness of the past few months. Do not forget what a narrow margin of food we are all working on. We cannot afford any toleration of violence. All of us are agreed on that.

" Whichever way the decision of the Indian people may go, I feel sure any British officials or officers who may be asked to remain for a while will do everything in their power to help to implement that decision. His Majesty as well as his Government have asked me to convey to all of you in India their sincere good wishes for your future and the assurance of their continued goodwill.

" I have faith in the future of India and am proud to be with you all at this momentous time. May your decisions be wisely guided and may they be carried out in the peaceful and friendly spirit of the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal." *

* This refers to a joint appeal earlier, by the two leaders, for preserving peace in the Country.

11. NEHRU'S APOLOGIA

Goal of India

"Nearly nine months ago, soon after my assumption of office, I spoke to you from this place I told you then that we were on the march, and the goal had still to be reached There were many difficulties and obstacles in the way, and our journey's end might not be near, for that end was not the assumption of office in the Government of India but the achievement of the full Independence of India, and the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which all will be equal sharers in opportunity and in all things that give meaning and value to life.

"Nine months have passed, months of sore trial and difficulty, of anxiety and sometimes even of heart-break. Looking back at this period, with its suffering and sorrow for our people, there is much on the credit side also, for India has advanced nationally and internationally, and is respected today in the councils of the world. In the domestic sphere, something substantial has been achieved, though the burden on the common man still continues to be terribly heavy, and millions lack food, cloth, and other necessaries of life Many vast schemes of development are nearly ready It is true that most of our dreams about the brave things we were going to accomplish have still to be realised. You know well the difficulties which the country had to face, economic, political, and communal. These months have been full of tragedy. The burden on those who had the governance of the country in their hands has been great indeed.

Relief for Riot Victims

"My mind is heavy with the thought of the suffering of our people in the areas of disturbances—the thousands who are dead and those, especially our women folk, who have suffered agony worse than death. To their families and to the innumerable people who have been uprooted from their homes and rendered destitute, I offer my deep sympathy, and an assurance that we shall do all in our power to bring relief We must see to it that such tragedies do not happen again. At no time have we lost faith in the great destiny of India which takes shape, even though with travail and sufferings. My great regret has been that, during this period, owing to excess of work, I have been

unable to visit the numerous towns and villages of India as I used to do, to meet my people and to learn about their troubles at first hand.

Historic Occasion

"Today, I am speaking to you on another historic occasion, when a vital change affecting the future of India is proposed. You have just heard an announcement on behalf of the British Government. This announcement lays down a procedure for self-determination in certain areas of India. It envisages, on the one hand, the possibility of these areas seceding from India. On the other, it promises a big advance towards complete Independence. Such a big change must have the full concurrence of the people before effect can be given to it, for it must always be remembered that the future of India can only be decided by the people of India and not by any outside authority, however friendly. These proposals will be placed soon before representative Assemblies of the people for consideration. Meanwhile, the sands of time run out, and decisions cannot await the normal course of events. So, while we must necessarily abide by what the people would finally decide, we had to come to certain decisions ourselves and to recommend them to the people for their acceptance. We have, therefore, decided to accept these proposals, and to recommend to our larger committees that they do likewise."

Right Course

"It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals to you, though I have no doubt in my mind that this is the right course. For generations, we have dreamt and struggled for a free and independent, United India. The proposal to allow certain parts to secede, if they so will, is too painful for any of us to contemplate. Nevertheless I am convinced that our present decision is the right one, even from the larger viewpoint. The United India that we have laboured for was not one of compulsion and coercion, but a free and willing association of free peoples. It may be, that, in this way, we shall reach that United India sooner than otherwise, and that she will have a stronger and more secure foundation.

"We are little men serving great causes. But because the cause is great, something of that greatness falls upon us

also. Mighty forces are at work in the world today and in India; and I have no doubt that we are ushering in a period of greatness for India The India of geography, of history, and tradition, the India of our minds and hearts, cannot change.

"On this historic occasion, each one of us must pray that he may be guided aright in the service of the motherland and of humanity at large. We stand on a water-shed, dividing the past from the future.

"Let us face the future, not with easy optimism or with any complacency or weakness, but with confidence and a firm faith in India.

Revolting Violence

"There has been violence, shameful, degrading and revolting violence, in various parts of the country This must end. We are determined to end it. We must make it clear that political ends are not to be achieved by methods of violence, now or in the future

"On this the eve of great changes in India, we have to make a fresh start with a clear vision, a firm mind, with steadfastness, tolerance and a stout heart. We should not wish ill to any one but think always of every Indian as our brother and comrade The good of the four-hundred millions of India must be our supreme objective. We shall seek to build anew our relations with England on a friendly and co-operative basis, forgetting the past which has lain so heavily upon us.

"I should like to express, on this occasion, my deep appreciation of the labours of the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, ever since his arrival here at a critical juncture in our history.

"Inevitably, on every occasion of crisis and difficulty, we think of our great leader, Mr. Gandhi, who has led us unfalteringly for over a generation, through darkness and sorrow, to the threshold of our freedom To him, we once again pay our homage. His blessing and wise counsel will happily be with us in the momentous years to come, as always.

"With firm faith in our future, I appeal to you to co-operate in the great task ahead, and to march together to the haven of freedom for all in India. JAI HIND!"

12. JINNAH'S ZINDABAD

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, in his broadcast which followed those of Lord Mountbatten and Pandit Nehru, said:—

"I am glad that I have been afforded an opportunity to speak to you directly through this Radio from Delhi. It is the first time, I believe, that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address people through the medium of this powerful instrument direct to the people on political matters. It augurs well, and I hope that, in the future, I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinions which will reach you directly, life-warm, rather than in the cold print of the newspapers.

"The statement of the British Government, embodying the plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India, has already *been broadcast. It gives the outlines of the plan for us to give* it our most earnest consideration. We must remember that we have to take momentous decisions, and handle the grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great sub-continent, inhabited by 400 million pepople. The world has no parallel for the most onerous and difficult task which we have to perform.

Peace and Order

"Grave responsibility lies particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore, we must galvanize and concentrate all our energy to see that the transfer of power is effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community, and particularly to Muslim India, to maintain peace and order.

"We must examine the plan in its letter and spirit, and come to our conclusions and take our decisions. I pray to God that, at this critical moment, He may guide us and enable us to discharge our responsibilities in wise and statesmanlike manner, having regard to the sum-total of the plan as a whole.

"It is clear that the plan does not meet, in some important respects, our point of view; and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the plan.

"It is for us now to consider whether the plan, as presented to us by the British Government, should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point, I do not wish to prejudge the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which has been summoned to meet on June 9. The final decision can be taken only by the Council according to our constitution, precedents, and practice But so far as I have been able to gather, on the whole, the reaction in Muslim League circles in Delhi has been hopeful. Of course, the plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before a final decision can be taken.

Fair and Impartial

"I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely and the impression that he has left on my mind is that he was actuated by a high sense of fairness and impartiality. It is up to us now to make his task less difficult and help him as far as lies in our power in order that he may fulfil his mission of the transfer of power to the people of India, in a peaceful and orderly manner.

"The plan that has been broadcast makes it clear that a referendum will be made to the electorates of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province who will choose which of the two alternatives in paragraph four in the official announcement (joining the C As of Hindustan or Pakistan) they wish to adopt The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General in consultation with the Provincial Government. So, it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances, I request the Provincial Muslim League o the Frontier Province to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobedience which they had perforce to resort to. I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League and Muslims generally to organize our people to face this referendum with hope and courage. I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

"I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Muslims, and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties. Without apportioning blame (and this is hardly the moment to do so), I deeply sympathise with all those who have suffered, and those who died, or whose properties were subjected to destruction. I fervently hope that the Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner. It should be the anxiety of every one to obtain a fair, free, and true verdict of the people of the Frontier. Once more, I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order.

Pakistan Zindabad!"

13. A SIKH VIEW: "TAKE IT AT THAT"

Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Member in the Interim Government, in his broadcast, said

"You have just heard the broadcasts of His Excellency the Viceroy and two of our distinguished countrymen, Pandit J Nehru and Mr Jinnah. You also now know the terms of the plan which the British Government have formulated to end the long-drawn-out political deadlock that had baffled us these many months and years

"It is a great day today. The occasion is historic. We have closed a dreary chapter. A new leaf is now being turned. We seem to see gleaming on it the fulfilment of what till yesterday was but a dream. Today we enter the heritage that was ours, the heritage of the freedom we have claimed as our birthright.

Tarnished Happiness

"It will be idle for me to pretend that the day is bright and joyous, as indeed we might well have hoped it would be. It will be untrue if I say we are altogether happy Seldom perhaps has a fulfilment like this been tarnished with so much of fear and sorrow. I say seldom, because, even though we struggled and even though the struggle was long and heavy, our common quest for freedom need never have divided and torn us asunder one from another.

"This has actually taken place The shadow of our differences has thrown its gloom over us. We have let ourselves be rent apart. We witness today, even on the day of our freedom, scenes of mutual conflict, and all the horrors that a conflict brings in so many parts of India. Neighbour has risen against neighbour. Thousands of innocent lives have been lost. Men, women and children roam from one place to another, homeless and without shelter. Untold losses, financial, cultural, and spiritual, have been inflicted in wide areas We look as if we are a house divided against itself. The day, indeed, finds us an unhappy people.

"It is not necessary for me today to probe into the reasons for this affliction. We each have our faults. Let us own it

We each laid a price on what is priceless, the willing surrender of our best for the common good of us all. That is why we fell foul of one another.

"But that was yesterday. Till yesterday, we were pre occupied with our little selves. The plan that has now been announced steers a course obviously above the conflicting claims. It is not a compromise. I prefer to call it a settlement. It does not please everybody, not the Sikh community anyway. But it is certainly something worthwhile. Let us take it at that. Taken in that spirit, this plan should dispel the dismal gloom that stalks our dear motherland in so many of its stricken spots today. In that spirit, we should find in it the buoyancy that will encourage us to undertake the many tasks that await us in every sphere of our national life, tasks that need doing not only to repair the damage we have inflicted on ourselves, but to raise us in stature before the nations of the world.

Face the Future

"We are poor. Let us not forget that we have no excuse to let poverty continue to afflict our people, now that we shall be masters of our affairs. We have tasks, big and small, of reconstruction on our hands. Let us remember that it is only when the mind of our leaders is not deflected by internal quarrels that they can effectively handle these tasks for our common good. Our people have many needs that have lingered unmet for years. Let us settle down to meet these needs and relieve the distress that haunts us. In a word, whatever our own preferences, let us grow above our petty outlook and work together to put our country on the way to greatness that certainly belongs to it.

"We do have to live as brothers or as neighbours. We all do want to live in peace and strive for a modicum of ease and comfort in our homes, whether in villages or in towns. We have had enough of quarrels and troubles. Let us now turn from an ugly past to help one another to build a great and glorious future. This is my counsel to men and women of goodwill, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others. For thousands of years, our ancestors lived together in this land, in tolerance and neighbourly relations. Let us restore the old glory of our traditions, in order, as I have said, that we may equip ourselves to face the bright future that has now opened.

"I believe, with all my heart, that the divisions that tend to keep us apart now, will not last long. I believe also that, even though we should choose to remain apart at present, we have so much in common, economically, geographically and even spiritually, that the very blue-print of our plans, so soon as we view it with care, will bind us together. We have to forget the unhappy past to see this with precision. Let us concentrate on our common interests.

A Warning

"I say this with all earnestness. I will add that, while making this appeal, I am not unaware of the existence in our midst of those discordant elements who are inhuman enough to imagine that their prosperity lies in the misfortune of their fellow-men and women Such people should be shunned They will, in fact, soon meet their fate. As you must have heard, we have taken the strongest measures to enforce law and order and to apprehend mischief-makers, wherever we can lay our hands on them. During the last few weeks, large contingents of armed troops have been deployed in various parts of the country. They will give succour to those in need and act as stern keepers of the peace in troubled areas. I want you to look upon the soldier as your friend. He will not fail you.

To Servicemen

"To you, sailors, soldiers, and airmen, I must say a few words You are obviously not uninfluenced by the great events that are taking place in India today. These include many political and administrative changes which will concern you. As men seasoned in life by discipline and fortitude, you will undoubtedly not allow yourselves to be needlessly perturbed. Let me say, with all the authority I can command, that your interests will, in no circumstances, be allowed to suffer You have earned a name for yourselves throughout the world, by your valour and high tradition. India will not and cannot forget the debt it owes you. Some of you today are having to perform unpleasant duties on internal security work. No one is more conscious of it than I. Our Motherland is passing through a period of transition and strain. Your patriotism and high sense of loyalty will help you to steer clear through these difficult times.

Do not forget that India's honour is your honour. Serve India now in her hour of trial with a good conscience and to the best of your ability, and remain confident that we stand by you today as we have done in the past.

" The Commander-in-chief will, in the next few days, broadcast a special message to you. He will deal with some of the specific problems that may now be engaging your mind. Meanwhile I have no doubt, whatever political considerations may shape the future of India, your interests will be protected by all sides."

14. THE STATES BY-PASSED

In these Anglo-Muslim-Congress-Sikh *pourparlers* at this period of our history, where were the Indian States? What part did they play? It is an important question.

It will be recalled that the Cabinet Mission's plan itself was to create a "Union of India, embracing both British India and the States; which should deal with the following subjects Foreign Affairs Defence and Communications, and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects". The Union Legislature and Executive should, accordingly, comprise representatives of the Provinces and the States. And for the Constitution-making body, Clause 19 (i) of the plan further fixed 93 members as a maximum for these Indian States out of a total of 385 for the whole country, on a population basis; and the sub-clause (ii) laid down "It is our intention that the States should be given, in the final Constituent Assembly, appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93; but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation The States would, in the preliminary stage, be represented by a Negotiating Committee" Earlier, the Cripps' proposals also indicated that "Provision shall be made for the participation of the Indian States in the Constitution-making body" And actually several of the Indian States were represented on the Constituent Assembly from its very start.

As regards "Paramountcy", Clause 14 of the Cabinet Mission plan stated· "Before putting forward our recommendation, we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India It is quite clear that, with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States They have, at the same time, assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building-up of the new constitutional

structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States." Earlier, on May 12, 1946, the Cabinet Mission issued the following memorandum relating to the States:

Memorandum in regard to States' Treaties and Paramountcy

"1. Prior to the recent statement of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons, an assurance was given to the Princes that there was no intention on the part of the Crown to initiate any change in their relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by their treaties and engagements without their consent. It was at the same time stated that the Princes' consent to any changes which might emerge as a result of negotiations would not unreasonably be withheld. The Chamber of Princes has since confirmed that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature. His Majesty's Government have now declared that, if the succession Government in British India desire Independence, no obstacle would be placed in their way. The effect of these announcements is that all those concerned with the future of India wish her to attain a position of Independence within or without the British Commonwealth. The Delegation have come here to assist in resolving the difficulties which stand in the way of India fulfilling this wish.

"2. During the interim period which must elapse before the coming into operation of a new Constitutional structure under which British India will be independent or fully self-governing, paramountcy will remain in operation. But the British Government could not and will not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government.

"3. In the meanwhile, the Indian States are in a position to play an important part in the formulation of the new Constitutional structure for India and His Majesty's Government have been informed by the Indian States that they desire, in their own interests and in the interests of India as a whole, both to make their contribution to the framing of the structure and to take their due place in it when it is completed. In order to facilitate this, they will doubtless strengthen their position by doing everything possible to ensure that their administrations conform to the

highest standard. Where adequate standards cannot be achieved within the existing resources of the States, they will no doubt arrange in suitable cases to form or join administrative units large enough to enable them to be fitted into the constitutional structure. It will also strengthen the position of States during this formulative period if the various Governments which have not already done so take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in their States by means of representative institutions.

"4. During the interim period, it will be necessary for the States to conduct negotiations with British India in regard to the future regulation of matters of common concern, especially in the economic and financial field Such negotiations which will be necessary, whether the States desire to participate in the new Indian constitutional structure or not, will occupy a considerable period of time, and since some of these negotiations may well be incomplete when the new structure comes into being, it will, in order to avoid administrative difficulties, be necessary to arrive at an understanding between the States and those likely to control the succession Government that, for a period of time, the then existing arrangements as to these matters of common concern should continue until the new agreements are completed. In this matter, the British Government and the Crown Representative will lend such assistance as they can, should it be so desired.

"5. When a new fully self-governing or independent Government comes into being in British India, His Majesty's Government's influence with this Government will not be such as to enable them to carry out the obligations of paramountcy. Moreover, they cannot contemplate that British troops would be retained in India for this purpose. Thus, as a logical sequence, and in view of the desires expressed to them on behalf of the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy. This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exit and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an

end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government in British India, or failing this, by entering into particular political arrangements with it."

In the course of his statement of 20th February, 1947, we have seen, Prime Minister Attlee, referring to this question, declared: "In regard to the Indian States, as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, H. M. Government do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any Government of British India. It is not intended to bring Paramountcy, as a system, to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but it is contemplated that, for the intervening period, the relations of the Crown with individual States may be adjusted by individual agreement."

Prior to the arrival of Lord Mountbatten, while matters had stood thus; and, on the one hand, it was made clear that, with the quitting of the British, Paramountcy over the Indian States would end, on the other, the Princes were fully consulted at every stage; the new Union of India was to be a Union "embracing both British India and the States"; the States were represented on the Constituent Assembly; and, as a matter of fact, by August 15, 1947, all the States within the geographical limits of India—except Kashmir, Junagadh and Hyderabad—acceded to the Indian Union; with the arrival of Lord Mountbatten, things began to take a different turn. In other words, the Princes and their Dewans were simply dismissed from all the talks of revising the Cabinet Mission Plan or of partitioning the country, obviously because most of them had stood by the "United India" ideal previously perhaps.

Thus, the Under-Secretary of India, Mr. Arthur Henderson, revealed in the House of Commons that "neither the Chamber of Princes nor the Rulers of the Indian States were consulted on the British Government's plan of June 3, for setting up the Dominions of India and Pakistan." This was in reply to a question by Lieut. Col. Sir Thomas Moore who asked, "whether the Chamber of Princes was consulted collectively or the rulers of the Indian States individually before it was decided to set up the Dominions of India and Pakistan, and what were the general views they expressed?" And Mr. Henderson added that

"Paragraph 18 explained that the announcement only related to British India and that the Government's policy towards the Indian States set out in the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of May 12, 1946, remained unchanged" The Princes, however, were informed of the coming changes at about 4 P M, on June 3, 1947, i e., just a few hours before the Viceroy's broadcast and the actual announcement of the Vivisection Plan

In his Press Conference of June 4, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, referring to these States, said "The Indian States cannot exist separately as Dominions", and added, "with the lapse of Paramountcy, the States will be free agents to enter either Constituent Assembly or make such arrangements as might be necessary". "There can be no negotiations between H. M. G. and the Indian States. We hand back Paramountcy; and in the process, we offer our services in helping them to make the necessary contact with the Government of India and with the respective Constituent Assemblies to come together and make their agreements. But H M G are not actually going to enter into any fresh negotiations. We are coming out of all our commitments. In the process of quitting power in India, we must try to approach it in as legally correct a manner as possible. The States must be perfectly aware where their interests lay. He, as the Crown representative during the remaining two months or so he would exercise Paramountcy, would do everything in his power to help them to negotiate with other parties" And in regard to their representation on the Constituent Assembly or Assemblies, His Excellency added: "The States were at liberty to send their duly qualified reprsentatives to the existing Constituent Assembly, or, if they so desired, to the other Constituent Assembly envisaged They were absolutely free to choose. But he supposed that geography would play a large part in their decisions."

Explaining the scope of this policy, Mr. Jinnah, in a communication dated June 17, 1947 said:

"There is a great deal of controversy going on with regard to the States, and I am, therefore, obliged to state the position of the All-India Muslim League, so that there should be no misunderstanding as to what the League stands for, and what our policy is with regard to the States.

"Constitutionally and legally, the States will be independent sovereign States on the termination of Paramountcy, and they will be free to decide on any course they like. It is open to them to join the Hindustan or Pakistan Constituent Assemblies, or to remain independent. In the latter case, they can enter into such arrangements or relationship with Hindustan or Pakistan as they may choose.

"The policy of the All-India Muslim League has been clear from the very beginning. We do not wish to interfere with the internal affairs of any State, for that is a matter primarily to be resolved between the Rulers and the peoples of the States. Such States as wish to enter the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of their own free-will and desire to discuss or negotiate with us, will find us ready and willing to do so. If they wish to remain independent, and wish to negotiate or adjust any political or any other relationship, such as commercial or economic relations with Pakistan, we shall be glad to discuss with them and come to a settlement which will be in the interests of both.

"I am clearly of opinon that the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of May 12, 1946, defining the policy of H. M. G. towards the States, does not, in any way, limit their powers, as it is often wrongly repeated that they have no option except to join one or the other Constituent Assembly. In my opinion, they are free to remain independent if they so desire. Neither the British Government nor the British Parliament nor any other power or body can compel them to do anything contrary to their own free-will; nor have they any power or sanction of any kind to do so. The British Government have made it clear that Paramountcy will not be transferred to any Government or Governments or authority that may be set up in India and that itself shows that Paramountcy cannot be transferred, but is going to terminate. On its termination, the full sovereign status of the Indian States emerges."

One result of this policy was that Junagadh, a tiny Muslim State in the heart of Hindustan, with a very large Hindu population, tried to opt out for Pakistan; and Hyderabad and Travancore tried to achieve their independent status. But in all these cases, they were thwarted through the direct or indirect intervention of the Government of India headed by the Congress.

Ultimately, all the States were either abolished or absorbed into the neighbouring cultural and linguistic, administrative units And thus, within a decade of the ending of Paramountcy in India, all the five hundred and odd Native States have disappeared from the map of the country. The story of this disappearance under the glorious lead of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, by itself, constitutes a soul-stirring story of what a Government of India hand-out* describes as a "bloodless revolution, brought about, on the one hand, by the operation of democratic forces unleashed by freedom, and, on the other, by the pariotic attitude of the Rulers who have been quick to appreciate the change." But it will be outside the scope of this "Story of Partition (1947)". One question however has got to be answered in connection with this States' affair.

Britain herself has always been a conservative country; and *the transition of things there, from aristocracy to democracy,* has been gradual and slow, so much so that the Queen of England still rules in that land and the "Lords Spiritual and Temporal" advise and assent to everything done in that country along with the Commons. And so far as these Native States are concerned, the pledges given to their rulers from the time of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 down to Lord Wavell's Viceroyalty will make a separate chapter by themselves.

Thus, the Queen's Proclamation assured the Princes of India that "all treaties and engagements made by them would be scrupulously maintained", "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions"; "We shall sanction no encroachment on others' dominions or rights"; "We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own."

The Montford Report (1918) insisted that "no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads*, and engagements or by established practice."

In June, 1929, Lord Irwin declared: "I make no secret of my view that, in any proposals that may be made, it is essential, on every ground of policy and equity, to carry the free assent of the Ruling Princes of India, and that any suggestion that the

* White Paper on Indian States, Para 10.

treaty rights which the Princes are accustomed to regard as sacrosanct, can be lightly set aside, is only calculated to postpone the solution that we seek." Lords Linlithgow and Wavell spoke even more emphatically of honouring the British pledges to the Princes of India who had rendered yeoman service to the Empire in the first and second World Wars, and at the same time, were not inimical to the cause of Indian Freedom and Independence. And yet, when the crucial hour arrived for settling the Indian question, the Princes were left absolutely in the lurch! And the only parties in the conclave were the British, the Congress and the League, with the Sikhs as an unavoidable appendix. No wonder that the Mountbatten Agreement has been called the product of an "Anglo-Congress-League conspiracy". And the poor Princes and even the people of the land were the fortunate or unfortunate victims of such a conspiracy.

15 SOME FOREIGN OPINIONS ON THE PLAN

It may be useful, at this stage, to sum up the reactions of the several statesmen all the world over regarding this Mountbatten arrangement.

British Opinion

Mr. (Now Sir) Winston Churchill (Leader of Opposition), referring to the Agreement in the House of Commons on June 3rd, said:

"It is, of course, impossible for the House to weigh and measure the full meaning of the most important statement which has been made to us by the Prime Minister. I am bound to say that it seemed very difficut to understand, but the White Paper will have to be studied with attention, and will probably carry the largest measure of truth to those who are best instructed. No doubt we shall have to debate on this question; but at the moment, I am not asking for any particular date to be fixed. I am bound to say, however, that, at this moment, it appears that the two conditions foreseen at the time of the Cripps Mission, namely, firstly, an agreement between the Indian parties, and secondly, a period of Dominion Status in which India or any part of it may freely decide whether to remain within the association of the British Commonwealth of Nations or not, these two conditions of the Cripps Mission which was set up under my administration would seem to have been fulfilled by this proposal. If it should prove to be the case that these two conditions have been maintained in fact and in form, I say, all parties in this House are equally pledged by the offers and declarations which we have made. In these points, we can only be well assured by the course of events in the next few weeks and months

"It is true that agreement of the various parties in India has only been achieved on the basis of partition. I gather that is the foundation. Nevertheless, should all these parties, after a reasonable period of deliberation and responsibility, decide to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations, the scheme of Unity of India will be preserved, and the many nations and States of India will find their unity within the mysterious circle of the British Crown, just in the same way as the self-

governing Dominions have done for so many years after all other links with the Mother Country, save those of sentiment, have been dissolved. It may therefore, be through a form of partition that the Unity of India may nonetheless be preserved in respect of matters vital to the whole of the vast population.

"Finally, we must ask ourselves at this early moment whether, after matters have proceeded thus far (and my opinions about that are well-known), any better way can be found of saving India from a blood-bath that may seem so near. I cannot doubt that, at first sight, and subject to unknown factors working out in a favourable manner, it would seem that a settlement on those terms may offer to India some prospect of escape from one of the most hideous calamities that can ever ravage the vast expanse of Asia.*

"Naturally, we cannot form an opinion upon the outlines and the complicated details that have been given, nor can we form a decided opinion without knowing what will be the correspondence of the actual facts with what is hoped for from them by the Government, the Viceroy and others responsible for India. If the facts correspond to the outlines with which we have been presented this afternoon, and if legislation, which, I gather, is necessary, has to be introduced to implement speedily the transfer of power on Dominion Status terms to the various parts of India, so that they can decide the future for themselves at leisure, it should not be right that such legislation should be deemed contentious, or that any long delay should elapse after it is introduced before it is passed into law. We shall not, therefore, while preserving our freedom on points of detail, oppose any Bill to confer Dominion status on the various parts of India, which may be presented to us on the basis of the statement made this afternoon by the Prime Minister.

"The Prime Minister said that great credit was due to the Viceroy. There are matters about which it is extremely difficult to form decided opinions now. But if the hopes that are enshrined in this declaration should be borne out, great credit will indeed be due to the Viceroy and not only to the Viceroy but to the Prime Minister who advised the British Government to appoint him." (cheers).

* Presumbly, this refers to the Communist menace in Asia.

Mr. W. Gallacher (Communist), in course of the debate, said "I saw, in one of the National papers, that the Indian leaders agreed to carve up. I do not think that carving-up is a very good solution. I think a complete withdrawal from India on our part would be the real solution. I am most suspicious of this solution, because the Tory Leader of the opposition has supported it."

"Mr. Churchill: I am glad I am not the leader of the Russian Opposition.

"Mr. Gallacher: Mr. Churchill has a long record in connection with India, and it is a very bad record. My objection to the Prime Minister's statement is very much strengthened by the fact that he supports it."

Mr. C. Davies, Leader of the Parliamentary Liberal Party, said, he was anxious for Indian opinion. Time was running out, and the sooner steps were taken to enable the transfer to take place smoothly and effectively, the better.

Mr. P. Freeman (Labour) asked: "What arrangements were being made in the event of the Indian Parties coming together, and showing a greater sense of unity than they did at the present time?" The Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee) replied · "I think, that is looking too far ahead. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished."

In the House of Lords, the Marquess of Salisbury (Conservative), on behalf of the Opposition, said "If the new Government proposals were accepted by Hindus, it seemed there was not only a hope that a horrible disaster might be avoided, but there might be a possibility that friendly collaboration between the British and the Indian peoples would continue to the advantage of all concerned If these proposals are entirely rejected, there is nothing before India but bloodshed and ruin on a large scale". He praised the gallant courage and pertinacity shown by the Viceroy in tackling this formidable task, and wished him and the Government all good luck in their negotiations "But we shall wish to study this document more closely."

The Earl of Perth, for the Liberals, associated himself with the tribute paid to the Viceroy who had done magnificent work in the very short time at his disposal. They agreed that any dis-

cussion or general comment on the important statement that afternoon would be premature. The issues involved no longer lay with the British people, although they were deeply concerned about them, but with the populations of India. If the proposals proved acceptable to the populations of India, and they thus avoided civil war—the most terrible scourge which could fall on any country, even though that country was a sub-continent—they would welcome them (cheers)."

Speaking on the second reading of the Indian Independence Bill, Sir John Anderson (Conservative), a former Governor of Bengal, pleaded for special concessions to East Bengal. "I am not taking sides", he said, "but I hope that, in the financial and economic adjustments that are made, special consideration will be given to the backward areas of the portion of Bengal which will go into Pakistan and to the need for their development."

Regarding the division of the Punjab, Mr. R. A. Butler said: As Punjabi-born (he was born in Attock Serai), and knowing most of the districts intimately, he felt himself quite heart-broken by this decision. The Punjab had one of greatest traditions of any country or any part of the world he knew. Its reputation in all the major wars through which this country had passed had been unequalled by almost any other part of those areas which came into contact with the British. Its loyalty had been unquestioned.

And Mr. Godfrey Nicholson described the proposed division of the Punjab as nothing less than tragic. "I believe", he said, "the Punjab will, within five years, be reunited. As for the Sikhs, I rather suspect that they can look after themselves and will certainly do so. My hope and belief is that a sense of unity in a common future, and a common history, will once again bring the peoples of that Province together."

American Reaction

Observers in Washington hoped "that the months ahead will not be marked by violence, but frankly expressed disappointment over the prospect of the division of the country. They were, at the same time, encouraged by the fact that there was nothing

new in the plan which precluded negotiations for a United India " "The United States will extend diplomatic recognition to Pakistan, if and when it comes into existence."

Mr E Celler, spokesman of the Indian group in the House of Representatives, said "The British Government were pandering to Mr. Jinnah" He asked how the division of the country into Pakistan and Hindustan could possibly work

Australian View

'The Sydney Morning Herald' wrote "There will be an uneasy suspicion that partition, however good a case can be made for it in the present circumstances, is not only a matter of expediency but also of despair, and that, in the long run, it will serve the best interests of neither Britain nor India Everything now depends on how genuine is the desire of the Indian leaders to make the experiment successful."

Before departing from this section, it will be useful to recall *that, according to Mr Allan Campbell-Johnson, Press Attache to* Lord Mountbatten, when the Viceroy came back from London, at the end of May, 1947, "he had returned armed with a vital message which he can use at his discretion from Mr Churchill to Jinnah, which states that it was nothing less than a matter of life and death for Jinnah to accept the plan".* So, Mr. Churchill's assent to the Plan was obtained before its announcement! And it was no wonder either.

16. REACTIONS IN INDIA

Sree Aurobindo Ghosh

Sree Aurobindo, the famous mystic of Pondicherry, asked about the proposed partition, said: "A proposal has been made for the solution of our difficulties in organising Indian Independence. It is being accepted, with whatever bitterness or regret and searching of heart, by Indian leaders. But do you know why this proposal has been made to us? It is to prove to us the absurdity of our quarrels. And do you know why we have to accept these proposals? It is to prove to ourselves the absurdity of our quarrels. Clearly, this is not a solution. It is a test, an ordeal, which, if we live it out in all sincerity, will prove to us that it is not by cutting a country into small bits that we shall bring about its unity and its greatness; it is not by opposing interests against each other that we can win for it prosperity; it is not by setting one dogma against another that we can serve the spirit of truth. In spite of all, India has a single soul; and while we have to wait till we can speak of an India, one and indivisible, our cry must be: *Let the soul of India live for ever!*"

Earlier, on May 5, he said that the Partition of Bengal was imperative if India was to be partitioned. "A united Bengal is possible in a United India," he added.

Veer Savarkar

In a statement, Veer V. D. Savarkar who was lying on bed with illness at that time, said: "My personal view is that we must vigorously protest against the creation of a Moslem State independent of the Central Indian State. We will not sign willingly the death-warrant of the integrity of Hindustan. If Britain thrusts Pakistan on us per force, that is another matter. Inspite of it, we will continue our struggle to re-annex those revolting Moslem provinces. Secondly, to register our protest against Pakistan, a Black Day should be observed throughout India on a convenient date. Thirdly, Pakistan or no Pakistan, three Hindu-majority provinces must be formed in Bengal, Punjab and Sindh, in the interest of Akhand Hindustan itself. Like the district of Sylhet, the four Hindu-majority districts of

Sindh must be allowed to decide, by their own separate voting, to join Hindustan. Fourthly, the Congressite Ministry must be called upon not to accept Pakistan and betray the Hindu electorate, even if they cannot prevent Britain from thrusting it perforce on us.

"Long Live Akhand Hindustan!"

Though it may be anticipating it a great deal, it may not be out of place to recall the views of Savarkarji of a somewhat later date. Thus, while inaugurating the 28th session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, at Calcutta on 24—12—49, the distinguished partiot said: "I would ask you to consider the tremendous changes which have occurred during the last three years in the whole of the world, as also in India, our Bharatavarsha.* The first and most important change that I want your attention to be drawn to is amazing enough—a change which I want to impress upon you Whatever might be their grievances, the greatest asset that Hindudom had today was that Independence of Bharatavarsha had been achieved after a struggle of generations and generations of their people The Hindu race regards it as of historical importance in the life of Hindudom. I say, we have driven away the British It is not the Congressites alone, or the people who mounted the gallows alone, it is as a result of the sum-total of the efforts of the whole Nation, from 1857 down to 1947, that we have achieved freedom. There is not a single British soldier here today That is a positive asset. Shivaji was the great founder of a Hindu Empire which drove away the Moghuls from Delhi. But really-speaking, if they read history correctly, they would find that Shivaji had done nothing more than liberating a part of India from Mohemmadan rule, although he established himself as an independent Hindu King. But today, the solid fact was that England had left India independent. Historically, Hindudom has won Independence. It was a historical lie to say that England had left India voluntarily. The fact was, that we had driven the British out of India. It was a victory and not a political gift.

"Today, the State Flag they were flying", Savarkarji proceeded, "was a Hindu Flag. Eighty-five per cent of the

* Sri Shankaracharya of Poori has translated the word BHARAT as the "Land of Light", from BHA=Light.

people of the country were Hindus. They could call it secular, democratic, Fascist, or Nazi as they liked, but it was a Hindu country. A sense of frustration had overtaken the race for long, long years; but taking a historical view of the matter, let us all feel that we are today as independent as an Englishman or a German. The Flag we are flying today is a Hindu Flag. It is called a secular Flag. Read the Flag correctly. It is only a Hindu Flag. There is an 'Asoka Chakra' in it, which is Dharma Chakra. So long as we go ahead, with no fear of any outside aggression, it is Dharma Chakra. But if there is to be aggression, it is Sudarshana Chakra. (Cheers)

"The position today was that Hindudom had again succeeded in driving away a persistent and tenacious enemy—the British. That was a tremendous change. India today had a Hindu Governor-General, a Hindu Prime Minister, a Hindu Home Minister and even a Hindu Mahasabhaite* as a Minister". Adverting again to the argument that the British had left India of their own accord, Savarkarji said: "If the British had left India, why did they not leave other Colonies, for example, Singapore and parts of Africa? The fact is, we drove them away. It was said that India had achieved Independence through Ahimsa. The truth is, that the British found their rule in India an impossibility. The continuance of their rule would have brought about a revolution in India. The British found that there were difficulties for them not only in Britain but in India also. Therefore they withdrew. India's independence had not come to them as a political gift."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, the brilliant scholar-statesman and Dewan of Travancore, said: "The expected has happened; and Mr. Gandhi's appeal for a United India has failed. The stand taken up by the old Moderates or the Liberal Party in favour of Dominion status, at least as a transitional arrangement, has been vindicated. Mr. Jinnah has achieved a resounding triumph; and while he may have lost in some details, he has gained in principle. The ultimate effects of the creation of Pakistan, in however modified a form, will disclose themselves in the coming

* This was the late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherji.

years. And a comprehensive division, carried out as now proposed, is bound to create new vested interests and new ambitions, whose outcome cannot now be predicted"

The Nizam

Announcing his decision to keep Hyderabad an independent State, H.E.H The Nizam said:

"The basis of the division of British India is communal. In my state, however, the two major communities live side by side, and I have sought, since I became the ruler, to promote, by every means, good and friendly relations between them. My ancestors and I have always regarded the Muslims and Hindus as the two eyes of the State, and the State itself as an indivisible asset of all the communities inhabiting it. The subjects of my state have affinities and common interests with both the contemplated new Dominions. By sending representatives to either of the Constituent Assemblies, Hyderabad would seem to be taking one side or the other I am consulting the best interests of my subjects by declining to take such a course I have, therefore, decided not to send representatives to either of the Constituent Assemblies

"The result in law of the departure of the Paramount Power in the near future will be that I shall become entitled to resume the status of an independent sovereign. But the question of the nature and extent of the association or relation between my state and the Units of British India remains for decision at a later stage, when their constitutions and powers have been determined Whatever form of constitution they may ultimately adopt, it will be the desire of Hyderabad to live in the closest friendship and amity with both. I shall continue to be guided by the consideration of the best interests both of Hyderabad and of India as a whole.

"The political and constitutional picture of India has, in the past few years, been changing rapidly. Who can say whether the two Units now contemplated for British India represent a final solution, or whether there will be still further division, or whether, after all, unity may eventually be achieved by mutual agreement? In these rapid changes, I am satisfied that the course of political wisdom lies not in taking sides, but in concentrating

on the maintenance of the integrity of my Dominions and fostering the welfare of my people."

Master Tara Singh

In a statement dated 3rd June, 1947, Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, said: "The British Government's plan is unsatisfactory and disappointing. Even the Viceroy, in his broadcast, has felt obliged to admit that the solidarity of the Sikhs will be impaired. No doubt, there is the saving feature that the plan has conceded the principle of the partition of the Punjab; but the whole thing depends on the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission. Again, there is a total lack of any positive provision for giving the Sikhs any power or status anywhere or for safeguarding their interests. I must make it clear that the ultimate acceptance or rejection of the plan by the Sikhs depends a good deal on the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission. The Sikhs and, for that matter, the Punjab Hindus, cannot be satisfied unless the dividing line is the River Chenab. We will continue our struggle till our objective is attained. For the Sikhs, the question is one of their very existence. I am sure that the Khalsa will soon realise the gravity of the situation and prove to the world that the spirit of Guru Govind Singh still lives in them."

A Muslim view

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, leader of the Muslim League Party in the Frontier Assembly, said: "The announcement will be received with considerable satisfaction in the N. W. Frontier Province. What we want is a free and fair referendum. This has been conceded in the statement. The fact that the referendum will be under the aegis of the Viceroy is a reflection on the present Ministry."

Poor Protest

The Hindus were the most affected community by the proposed partition; and let us see how they reacted to the Mountbatten agreement.

Accord with the partition—either half-hearted or whole—there was none, though there was joy everywhere that the detested

foreigner was quitting. But active protest against the arrangement, and its canalisation on right lines was either nil or very feeble.

Veer Savarkar, we have already seen, had proposed a 'Black Day' against the partition. The Hindu Mahasabha President, Sree L B. Bhopatkar, a good but weak man, ultimately fixed the 3rd July as an "Anti-Partition Day". But the celebration itself, in most places was a poor show As Mr. Allan-Johnson wrote in his book, "Mission with Mountbatten,"—

"During Lord Mountbatten's time, the Mahasabha was always active, but was unable to canalise Hindu resentment at Partition sufficiently to thwart the 3rd June plan. Subsequently, the Mahasabha suffered a serious set-back, as a result of its suspected complicity in Gandhi's assassination. But for all that, it remained a formidable force." (p 36).

Revenue Rs. 82,95 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 116,29 lakhs, a deficit of Rs. 33,34 lakhs.

Provincial and Central revenues taken together: Hindustan is expected to have a deficit of Rs. 111,00 lakhs and Pakistan Rs. 38,02 lakhs.

Public expenditure in Pakistan, says Mr. Birla in a note, will be bigger on almost all counts if the present levels of administration and social services are to be at least maintained. The Pakistan areas, being frontier areas, will have to bear a far larger defence expenditure than Hindustan.

Pakistan will have two major ports, Karachi and Chittagong, which handled a total of 2,441,000 tons of cargo in 1939-40; and Hindustan will have Bombay, Cochin, Madras, Vizagapatam and Calcutta, which handled a total of 16,548,000 tons.

"According to the 1941 census", the bulletin proceeded, "the Hindustan would have a territory of 1,241,000 square miles and a population of 31,63,30,000 while Pakistan would have a territory of 340,000 square miles and a population of 7,25,70,000. If the Presidency and Burdwan divisions in Bengal and Jullunder and Ambala Divisions and Lahore and Gurdaspur in the Punjab are allotted, as they should be, in equity, to non-Muslims, then Pakistan would only have an area of 330,000 sq. miles and a population of 6,61,22,000. The cropped area of Hindustan is estimated at 166,700,000 acres, of which 118,100,000 acres are under food crops. As for Pakistan, these figures are 42,700,000 and 35,800,000 acres respectively.

"Hindustan has coal resources estimated at 250 million tons, for less than 2 million tons of Pakistan. The petroleum resources of Hindustan are 659 million gallons, for the 219 million gallons of Pakistan. Pakistan has four times the chromite resources of Hindustan, the figures being 21,892 tons for Pakistan and 5,194 tons for Hindustan. On the contrary, Hindustan has all the resources of present-day India in copper ore (288,076 tons), iron ore (1,421,701 tons), manganese ore (766,341 tons), magnesite (23,052 tons) and mica (108,834 cwt.); while Pakistan has nothing at all. The major ports of Hindustan clear annually the following tonnage; Bombay 4,633,000 tons; Cochin 824,000; Madras 1,095,000; Vizagapatam 524,000;

and Calcutta 9,472,000; in all, an aggregate of 16,518,000 tons a year. As against this, Pakistan ports have an aggregate annual tonnage clearance of 2,441,000, of which Karachi accounts for 1,905,000 tons Hindustan has 25,970 miles of railways, capitalised at Rs. 626 crores; and Pakistan has 14,542 miles valued at Rs 232 crores For the 246,605 miles of roads in Hindustan, Pakistan has 49,963 miles."

Table 'A' below gives the financial results of Hindustan and Pakistan; Table 'B' deals with the resources of the Muslims and Hindus of Bengal; while Table 'C' deals with the Muslim and Hindu resources of the Punjab".

TABLE 'A'

(In Lakhs of Rupees)

	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus or deficit
Provincial			
Hindustan	1,43,40	[illegible]	115
Pakistan	44,80	[illegible]	–[illegible]
Central			
Hindustan	2,77,25	[illegible]	–[illegible]
Pakistan	82,95	[illegible]	–[illegible]
Provincial and Central			
Hindustan	[illegible]	[illegible]	–[illegible]
Pakistan	[illegible]	[illegible]	–[illegible]

TABLE 'B'

Resources of Bengal

	[illegible]	[illegible]
Area in sq. miles	[illegible]	[illegible]
Population	[illegible]	[illegible]
Muslim [illegible] Bengal	[illegible]	

	Hindu Bengal	*Muslim Bengal*
Hindu minority in Muslim Bengal	91,44,640 79,55,449	
Forest area	38,52,100	6,30,785
Cultivable waste	37,54,000 41,90,555	19,99,739 15,63,262
Acreage under condiments	25,762 27,200	1,48,732 1,47,400
Acreage under jute	2,09,792 3,19,000	19,51,110 18,41,900
Acreage under cotton	53,000	4,200
Acreage under gram	82,178 2,25,600	1,97,925 53,900
Acreage under other foodgrains	2,17,126 3,68,800	9,78,785 8,27,100
Acreage under rice	69,06,295 84,04,000	1,52,04,207 1,48,99,200
Acreage under wheat	34,130 80,000	1,26,770 80,900
Linseed	4,650 80,005	1,02,355 57,100
Sesamum	33,445 34,500	1,76,255 1,74,000
Rape	1,08,692 1,43,800	6,62,008 6,26,900
Groundnut	475 1,900	2,425 1,000
Other oils	14,137 19,100	12,995 8,000

Note : In this table almost each of the heads has two sets of figures. The first figure against each head gives figures on the existing basis of tehsils. The lower figure against each head is based on the principle of division claiming two divisions in Western Bengal.

TABLE 'C'

Resources of the Punjab

	Muslim Punjab	*Hindu Punjab*
Area	59,335 62,852	39,755 36,237
Population	1,40,21,415 1,62,84,145	1,43,97,410 1,21,24,676
Muslims in the Muslim areas	1,07,45,270 1,20,68,707	
Muslims in non-Muslim areas	54,71.270 41,48,536	
Acreage under rice	6,17,867 6,88,210	4,68,372 3,98,031
Acreage under wheat	62,11,910 67,49,055	37,32,767 31,95,620
Acreage under maize	2,92,880 3,65,161	8,03,212 7,37,131
Acreage under linseed	4,558 6,430	25,148 24,872
Area under sesamum	32,255 53,120	50,283 40,110
Area under rape	3,49,350 4,07,160	3,90,200 3,32,490
Area under sugar	1,73,810 2,24,310	3,36,200 2,95,700
Area under cotton	20,80,850 23,37,600	10,55,182 7,97,930
Area under forest	11,80,760 12,08,870	7,94,460 7,66,930
Cultivable waste	1,13,11,840 1,16,13,350	28,53,098 25,51,588

	Muslim Punjab	*Hindu Punjab*
Irrigated area	1,05,81,244 1,18,39,950	60,58,008 47,99,992
Total area	3,54,73,920 3,77,37,600	2,55,27,680 2,32,64,000

Note: In this table, there are two sets of figures against each heading. The upper figure deals with figures which include Gurdaspur and Lahore districts in Eastern Punjab. The lower figure deals with district and subdivision-wise, one half of Gurdaspur being included in the Eastern Punjab.

It was said in those days that Shri Birla (G.D.) had a hand in the acceptance of the the Partition proposals by the Congress leaders. There is no doubt about his intimacy with the Congress leaders. And his was the hidden hand in the filling up of several Ministries, particularly of Finance and Commerce, in those days. Whatever that be, it is undeniable that it was Mr. Birla who took the trouble of going into these material implications of the division of India. From the figures given supra, it is small consolation to be told that Hindusthan had "immeasurably larger resources at her disposal"; and contrarily, that "Pakistan stands to lose by remaining outside the Union Centre". But the figures under wheat and rice given in Tables 'B' and 'C' clearly show that the Partition of the country was the root-cause of our Food problem in India all these eleven years.

18. CONGRESS ACCEPTS PROPOSALS

The Congress Working Committee, at a meeting held on June 14, approved the draft resolution for the All-India Congress Committee * which met the next day at 2-30 p. m. in the Constitution Club, New Delhi The resolution says:

"The A I C C. has given careful consideration to the course of events since its last meeting in January, and in particular, to the statements made on behalf of the British Government on Feb. 20, and June 3 The Committee approves and endorses the resolutions passed by the Working Committee during this period.

"The Congress accepted the British Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, as well as the subsequent interpretation of Dec. 6, 1946, and has been acting in accordance with it in the Constituent Assembly which was constituted in terms of the Cabinet Mission's plan. That Assembly had been functioning for over six months, and has not only declared its objectives to be the establishment of an independent, sovereign, Republic of India and a just social and economic order, but has also made considerable progress in framing the Constitution for the free Indian Union on the basis of fundamental rights guaranteeing freedom and equality of opportunity to all Indians.

"In view, however, of the refusal of the Muslim League to accept the plan of May 16 and to participate in the Constituent Assembly, and further in view of the policy of the Congress [illegible] it cannot think in terms of [illegible] torial unit to remain in an Indian Union against [illegible] and established will, the A. I. C. C. accepts the proposals embodied in the announcement [illegible] procedure to ascertain [illegible]

" The Congress has [illegible] of India must [illegible] Congress has [illegible] India, and millions [illegible]

* The A. I. C. C. [illegible] Committee's [illegible] present, and [illegible]

cause. Not only the labours and sacrifices of the past two generations, but the long course of India's history and tradition bears witness to this essential unity. Geography and the mountains and the seas fashioned India as she is, and no human agency can change that shape or come in the way of her final destiny. Economic circumstances and the insistent demands of international affairs make the unity of India still more necessary. The picture of the India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and hearts.

"The A. I. C. C. earnestly trusts that, when present passions have subsided, India's problems will be viewed in their proper perspective, and the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all.

"The proposals of June 3 are likely to lead to the secession of some parts of the country from India. However much this may be regretted, the A. I. C. C. accepts this possibility in the circumstances now prevailing.

"Though freedom is at hand, the times are difficult and the situation in India demands vigilance and a united front by all those who care for the Independence of India. At this time of crisis and change, when unpatriotic and unsocial forces are trying to injure the cause of India and her people, the A. I. C. C. appeals to and demands of every Congressman and the people generally, to forget their petty differences and disputes and to stand by, vigilant, disciplined and prepared to serve the cause of India's freedom, and defend it with all their strength from all who may seek to injure it".

The Socialist Stand

As regards the attitude of the Socialist group of the A.I.C.C., the message adds :-

"The Socialist party will not oppose or table amendments to the resolution," said Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who presided over the recent meetings of the Executive of the Socialist Party and Acharya Narendra Dev, member of the Executive. Members, however, would explain the attitude of the Socialists in terms of the resolution adopted by the Executive.

"The Socialists," said Acharya Narendra Dev, "were opposed to partition, but they would not oppose the plan, because it has become a fact. They would, however, work through peaceful methods for reunion by mutual consent. There would be a single Socialist organisation for both Hindustan and Pakistan There might be local variations, but a common policy would be adopted for the whole country He was of the view that, after the issues arising out of the partition were solved and peaceful conditions restored, there would be a realignment of forces all over India, and parties and organisations would come into being on the basis of socio-economic programmes."

Dr Lohia stated "that the Socialists would like the Indian Union to be a completely Secular State, with common Indian citizenship for Hindus and Muslims alike, with equality before the Law. He would not like the Indian Union to be confused by the two-Nation theory."

It may be added that, at the A I.C C. meeting, while the Socialist group remained neutral, a batch of twent-nine conscientious believers headed by Sri Purushottamdas Tandon, subsequently Congress President, who was dismissed, however, from his Presidentship because of his Pro-Hindu views, raised their feeble dissent against the partition plan and voted against the main resolution. But Mr T Prakasam* who had seconded the Indian Unity resolution at the Allahabad meeting of the A I C C. in May 1942, and who was emitting fire and vitriol against the pro-Partition policy of the High Command previously, actually grew silent at the A I C.C. meeting, although he was a dismissed Chief Minister at this time. Everyone knew that it was Mahatma Gandhi's promise to Jai Prakash Narain to help to 'socialise' the whole country that purchased the Socialist party's neutrality, and Mr. Prakasam was still hoping perhaps to secure the Mahatma's goodwill for regaining his Madras Premiership.

One interesting fact has to be mentioned at this stage. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, the 'Frontier Gandhi' of the Congress, was

* Thus addressing a public meeting at Pollachi on May 17, 1947, Sri Prakasam appealed to the people to stand united under Mahatma Gandhi's lead in preserving the unity of the country. The proposed partition of of India, he said, came as a bombshell to him. He criticised the Congress leadership in having weakly yielded to the proposed division of the country.

the most believing and devoted lieutenant of the Mahatma. And when his Province of the N.W.F. was included in the Plebiscite plan, he was neither consulted nor informed about it. And the issue that was placed before the voters was, "Whether to join India or Pakistan?" When he came to know of it, it appears, the Khan pointed out to the High Command that there was a third alternative also, viz., "Pakhtoonistan as a separate State". But it was too late. And thus was the only true Musalman follower of the Mahatma and the only Congress Muslim majority province in the whole country betrayed and lost.

One question remains to be faced in connection with the Congress attitude towards the Mountbatten Plan. There were two sections among the A.I.C.C. members who did not favour the partition. The Socialists would not oppose it, however, because "it had become a fact;" but "they would work through peaceful methods for reunion by mutual consent," according to their leader, Sri Narendra Dev. It is more than eleven years since the above announcement was made. But the Socialist party has clean avoided this object from any of its manifestoes all these years. And as for that brave band of twenty-nine who voted against, how is it that their opposition merely ended with a contrary vote at the A.I.C.C.? In 1920, for inaugurating Non-co-operation, a Special session of the Congress was held at Calcutta. In 1923, Desabandhu Das resigned his Congress Presidentship and formed his Swarajya party to assert his view-point of Council-entry for Congressmen, which led to a Special Congress at Delhi. In 1934, Pandit Malavia formed his Nationalist party to oppose the British Premier's Communal Award. In 1942, at the time of the Cripps mission, Gandhiji left the pro-Compromise wallahs for his 'Quit India' campaign, which, for him, was to be a 'fight to the finish' — a Do or Die job. With such antecedents, how is it that *not one Congressman*—not even Tandon—would demand a Special session of the Congress to confirm or challenge the A.I.C.C. on the Partition issue? Was it because it was a lesser issue than any of those which the Congress leaders had faced previously? Or was it due to the smallness of these people?

Note:—In the A. I. C. C. resolution of 15th June, 1947, as well as in the several speeches of the Congress leaders, much has been made of the "Congress policy of non-coercion" etc. But it will

be useful to recall that, immediately after the departure of Cripps from India, the A I C C. that met at Allahabad in April 1942, resolved

"The A. I C C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the different States and Provinces and the Country as a whole, and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal"

19. THE MYSTERIOUS MAHATMA

The role of Gandhiji in this tragic drama is both a puzzle and a mystery. Originally he expressed strong views against partition; but rightly or wrongly, there has grown an impression in the public mind that, like Patel and Nehru, the Mahatma was equally a party to the final arrangement. It behoves us therefore to get at the facts of the situation and assess his responsibility, if any, in bringing about this fateful arrangement.

First, about Gandhiji 's pre-1947 views on Partition. The following quotations from his writings show clearly that he condemned vivisection in unmistakable terms.

"Those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide". (*Harijan*, 6—4—1940).

"Partition means a patent untruth. My whole soul rebels against the idea. To assent to such a doctrine is for me a denial of God". (*Ibid*, dated 14—4—1940).

"Partition has altered the face of the Hindu-Muslim problem. I have called it an untruth. There can be no compromise with it. It cannot come by honourable agreement". (*Ibid*, dated 4—5—40).

"To divide India into two is worse than anarchy. It is vivisection which cannot be tolerated—not because I am a Hindu—for I am speaking from this platform as a representative of Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and all else. But I will say to them: Vivisect me before you vivisect India. You shall not do what even the Moghuls who ruled over India for over two centuries, did not do". (*Ibid*, dated 22—9—40).

"As I understand Pakistan, I do not regard it as a worthy ideal. I have called it an untruth; I should be failing in my duty if I did not warn the Muslims of India against the untruth that is being propagated among them. There can be no compromise with it. It cannot come by honourable agreement. I hope Quaid-e-Azam does not represent the considered opinion of his colleagues. Pakistan, according to him, in a nutshell, is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be wholly treated as an independent sovereign State. If Pakistan is an article of faith with him, indivisibility of India is equally an article of faith with me". (*Ibid*, dated, 26—7—42).

"As a man of Non-violence, I cannot forcibly resist the proposed partition, if the Muslims of India really insist upon it. But I can

never be a willing party to the vivisection. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it. For, it means the undoing of centuries of work, done by numberless Hindus and Muslims, to live together as one Nation. Partition means a patent untruth". (*Ibid*, dated 13—4—40)

If every component part of the Nation claims the right of self-determination for itself, there is no one nation, and there is no independence. I have already said that Pakistan is such an untruth that it cannot stand. As soon as the authors begin to work it out, they will find that it is not practicable. In any case, mine is a personal opinion My mission is to work for the unity of all, for the sake of the equal good of all". (*Ibid*, dated 18—5—40)

'I consider the vivisection of India as a sin. I cannot prevent my neighbour from committing a sin. Shri Rajagopalachari would be a party to the sin. I cannot be a party". (*Ibid*, dated 25—5—40).

'I see nothing but seeds of further quarrel in it". (*Ibid*, dated 31—5—1942)

In the face of such unequivocal declarations, it will be difficult to believe that Gandhiji changed his faith and took to an active support of the Partition proposal when it was finally made and agreed to by his followers But yet the impression persists in the public mind that the Viceroy's plan had Gandhiji's blessings And why so ?

The first and the most direct evidence in support of such a contention was a statement made by Lord Mountbatten himself Thus in the course of a speech at the Royal Empire Society, London, in October 1948, the Ex-Viceroy said "Mr Jinnah made it absolutely clear from the very beginning that, so long as he lived, he would never accept a United India He demanded partition ; he insisted on Pakistan. On the other hand, Congress had stood for keeping a United India, being violently opposed to any form of partition ; and up to the time I went out, it had never been indicated that they might consider anything else But when I saw Pandit Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi and others, they agreed that, if it was not possible to keep a United India without Civil War—and I was convinced that the Muslim League would have fought, for Mr Jinnah had made that very clear—they would accept partition. But they did insist that partition must also ensure that no non-Muslim majority areas were in Pakistan. That automatically meant a partition of the great provinces of the Punjab and Bengal". Acharya Kripalani, Congress President

at the time, also revealed that, though they were all opposed to partition, when Mahatma Gandhi gave his assent to it, they had reconciled themselves to it and gave up their opposition.

There were two other circumstances which lend support to the view that the Partition arrangement had the blessings of the Mahatma. Thus, immediately after the announcement of the plan, i.e., on 4th June, 1947, after a 45 minute interview with the Viceroy, in his post-prayer meeting, Gandhiji referred to the Partition and expressed sorrow at what he considered was the mistaken policy of the Muslim League. "They feared Hindu domination", he said, "and desired to rule in what they were mistaken in calling their Homelands. As a matter of fact, however, India was the Homeland of all who were born and bred in India. Would the Muslim Homeland live in isolation? Was not the Punjab as much the homeland of the Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Jews and Parsis who were of the Punjab? He could not blame the Viceroy for what had happened. It was an act of the Congress and the League. He had openly said that he wanted a United India. But he has powerless in the face of Congress acceptance, however reluctantly, of the Muslim position".

He had tried his best, the Mahatma continued, "to get the people to stand by the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, but had failed." But what was his duty and theirs, in the face of the accepted fact? He was a servant of the Congress because he was a servant of the country, and he could never be disloyal to them. Pandit Nehru had said the Viceroy had said that nothing had been imposed on any one. The agreement that was embodied in the announcement being a voluntary act of the parties, could be varied by them at any stage by mutual consent. He hoped it was now a final agreement between the parties. Therefore, all violence should stop.

In an "appeal to the people", the Mahatma advised the country not to rebel against the Congress, because it advised the people to accept H.M.G's. plan. People should not forget that the Congress had been forced into that position. "I want to lessen the pain in your hearts," he said, "by saying that neither Hindus, Muslims nor Sikhs have lost anything. Whatever the Viceroy has done can be changed by common agreement among

the common people." He paid a tribute to the Viceroy who, he said, "*had worked very hard and had tried his utmost to try* to bring about a compromise, and the present plan was the only basis on which agreement could be reached. The Viceroy did not want to leave this country in chaos, and hence all his efforts. Gandhiji expressed his firm hope and confidence in the future, and that the two parts of India would ultimately unite again."

The conduct of Gandhiji at the All-India Congress Committee meeting on the 15th June was even a more positive evidence of his attitude in regard to the plan As seen already, that was a meeting held to ratify the decision of the Congress leaders. The Socialist group, headed by Jaiprakash Narain and Narendra Dev, was totally opposed to partition But Gandhiji, at that stage, intervened and literally purchased their neutrality by offering his help for India's socialisation afterwards Writing about this, Lord Mountbatten's Press Attache, in his book, "Mission with Mountbatten", said. "*A I.C.C. Meeting*—At the decisive moment, Gandhi came down in favour of acceptance, and the latent opposition among the more communal-minded members of the Congress High Command could not take shape against the frail little man's massive authority," (P 119)

Such, in a nutshell, is the evidence in favour of the assumption that Gandhiji had favoured or at least supported the partition. But at the same time, there was equally weighty and reliable evidence to show that Gandhiji's heart, at any rate, was not in the settlement And in order to ascertain the truth of the matter, we should try to get into grips with the situation at the time at closer quarters and in greater detail And in order that we might do so, let us read what the Viceroy's Press Attache wrote in his book already referred to.

The Viceroy took charge on 24th March 1947; and within a week, he met the Mahatma for the first time, on March 31st. It was a two-and-a-quarter hour meeting, we are told, in which the Viceroy deliberately avoided all references to the immediate political situation. On the other hand, the conversation was "deliberately taken up with reminiscences"; and for an hour-and-a-quarter, Lady Mountbatten was asked to be present "to help produce an air of friendliness".

The second talk with Gandhiji was on the next day, the 1st April. It lasted for two hours, out of which only fifteen minutes was for 'solid business'. The Viceroy asked for Gandhiji's views for solving the deadlock. And then Gandhiji proposed—and it is important to make a careful note of it, because that represented his earnest and, as it proved, final solution for India—that the Viceroy should "dismiss the present Cabinet and call on Jinnah to appoint an all-Moslem administration." He also told the Viceroy "to be firm and face the consequences of the sins of his predecessors. The British system of 'divide and rule' had created a situation in which the only alternatives were a continuation of British rule to keep law and order or an Indian blood-bath. The blood-bath must be faced and accepted." (P. 52)

On the 5th April, Gandhiji's 'Master-plan' was discussed in the Viceroy's circles; and it was agreed that "it was vital that Mountbatten should not allow himself to be drawn into negotiations with the Mahatma but should only listen to advice". (P. 55). And a week hence, on April 12, we read, "Gandhiji has written to Mountbatten that his own plan was not acceptable to Congress; and he is personally handing over all future negotiations to the Working Committee". (P. 61). And it does not appear that the Mahatma and the Viceroy met again till the actual eve of the Plan-announcement, i.e., till 2nd June, 1947.

About this fateful and, in a sense, fatal meeting between the two leaders, Mr. Allan C. Johnson's book has got very interesting and important revelations. The meeting was preceded earlier in the day by a conference of the "Big Seven", viz., Mr. Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Sardar Baldev Singh, Acharya Kripalani, Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru, when the Viceroy handed over copies of the plan and asked them "to accept the plan in a peaceful spirit" and wanted their reactions by the midnight of the same day. Then, we are told, "at 12-30 (noon), the Mahatma arrived. In one sense, he has been present throughout the whole proceedings, and uncertainty as to his ultimate reaction to the formal presentation of a partition plan undoubtedly had an inhibiting effect on the Congress leaders earlier, in the morning. They were only too well aware of Gandhi's unpredictable response to the promptings of his inner voice.

There have been widespread fears that he will, at the bidding of his complex conscience, go to extreme lengths to wreck the plan in one final effort to prevent the vivisection of India Mountbatten (thus) faced this interview with considerable trepidation Imagine his amazement and relief," exclaims the writer, "when the Mahatma blandly indicated on the backs of various used envelopes and other scraps of paper (which the Mahatma had evidently carried with him), that he was observing a day of silence!" When the interview was over, Mountbatten picked up the various bits of paper on which the Mahatma had wrote "I am sorry, I cannot speak When I took the decision about the Monday silence, I did make two exceptions, i e, about speaking to high functionaries on urgent matters, or attending upon sick people. But I know you don't want me to break my silence Have I said one word against you during my speeches? If you admit that I have not, your warning is superfluous There are one or two things I must talk about, but not today But if we meet each other again, I shall speak."

The next meeting between the Viceroy and Gandhiji was on the 4th June, the day after the plan-announcement And here is from the author's Diary of the day.

"*4—6—47.*—Mountbatten invited Gandhi to the Viceroy's House. Gandhi was clearly in a state of some distress, feeling under the first impact of the plan that his life-long efforts for the unity of Hindus and Muslims had fallen about him. But Mountbatten, summoning all his powers of persuasion, urged him to consider the Announcement not as a Mountbatten Plan, but as a Gandhi plan. In all sincerity, he had tried to incorporate Gandhi's major concepts of non-coercion, self-determination, the earliest possible date of British departure, and even his sympathetic views about Dominion Status Once again, Mountbatten carried the day—just how decisively can be seen by what Gandhi said tonight 'The British Government is not responsible for partition,' he told the Prayer meeting 'The Viceroy has no hand in it. In fact, he is as opposed to division as Congress itself. But if both of us, Hindus and Muslims, cannot agree on anything else, then the Viceroy is left with no choice.' Never, surely, had a Viceroy achieved such swift and decisive conquest over Gandhi's heart and mind."

The extracts quoted above are not only revealing but instructive also. And in view of their importance, both intrinsic and historical, they will need a more than formal attention.

It the first place, on the question of Gandhiji's alleged assent to the Mountbatten plan, whether willing or otherwise, it will be clear that he never faltered so far as his personal faith in the unity and indivisibility of India was concerned. And his earlier views of 1940–42 held good, I suppose, equally for 1947 also. Far from agreeing to vivisection, on the other hand, the Mahatma gave an alternative solution for meeting the critical situation in the country, whereby he urged the Viceroy "to dismiss the present Cabinet and call Jinnah to appoint an all-Moslem administration". After discussions with the Congress leaders, he wrote to the Viceroy that his plan "was not acceptable to the Congress;" and therefore, that he should conduct all further negotiations with the Working Committee. It is thus clear that Gandhiji washed his hands off these political negotiations and probably went his way to East Bengal. And when the Viceroy's plan was made known to him early in June, there is nothing to show that Gandhiji had endorsed it in any manner. On the other hand, he was sorely distressed at the agreed partition; spoke to the people with solace and sorrow in his heart; and even hoped that the sundered parts of the country would reunite again soon.

What about the attitude of the Congress leaders towards the plan? And in particular, did they not consult the Mahatma before giving their assent? In the absence of any definite information, it is difficult to say. But with the available information, it does not appear that the Congress leaders, including Nehru and Patel, made any effort to resist the Partition proposal ever since Lord Mountbatten made it immediately after his arrival in India. Thus, on P. 98, we are told, "Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel, the two big Congressmen in the Interim Government, accept Partition on the understanding that, by conceding Pakistan to Jinnah, they will hear no more of him and eliminate his nuisance value, or as Nehru put it privately, that 'by cutting off the head, we will get rid of the head-ache'". Rather a strange remedy! The only plea raised by these leaders seems to have been that, if India were to be partitioned, then Bengal and the Punjab should be equally divided, a demand which was conceded easily, And as regards their prior consultations, if any, with their leader.

there is nothing on record; and the question of tackling the Mahatma seems to have been left to the Viceroy. Thus, even on the morning of 2nd June, at the Conference of the Big Seven with the Viceroy, we are told, "There have been widespread fears that he (Gandhiji) will, at the bidding of his complex conscience go to extreme lengths to wreck the plan" And even as late as the 24th June, we are told, "Inspite of Gandhi's courageous and decisive intervention at the A.I.C.C in favour of the 3rd June plan, one can never be sure when this volcano of non-violence will erupt."

But two questions still remain to be answered, viz, (1) Why did not Gandhiji speak out his mind to the Viceroy? and (2) Why did he not pursue his faith into action?

On the former question, frankly-speaking, Gandhiji's conduct before the Viceroy on 2nd June seems rather extraordinary and even mystifying Thus, apart from the tell-tale story of "various used envelopes and other scraps of paper", which ill-fitted the occasion, could not the Mahatma make an exception for his silence and face the Viceroy straight? "Speaking to high functionaries on urgent matters" and "attending upon sick people" were the two circumstances that warranted a breach. Was not the Governor-General of India a 'high functionary?' Was not the imminent Partition of the country an 'urgent matter'? And was not the bleeding and burning 'Mother India', who was about to be cut into bits, a sick Being, if not a person? Strange! That sometimes our own vows become shackles for ourselves! "Have I said one word against you?" And if he did not like this Mountbatten business, why did he not say it? "Your warning is superfluous" This referred probably to the threatened Civil War in the country if the Partition was not effected. But did he not himself advise the Viceroy previously to face a "blood-bath" if it came to that? All told, with Gandhiji's known views, it is strange and even baffling that he behaved before the Viceroy in the manner he did. Nor can one reconcile oneself either to his defence of the Viceroy in his post-prayer speech on the 4th June or to his open canvassing in favour of acceptance of the Partition at the time of the A.I.C.C. meeting of 15th June.

The Viceroy very cleverly told Gandhiji [illegible]
Announcement not as a Mountbatten [illegible]

Plan ". Did this subterfuge deceive the Mahatma? Not likely. Because it is difficult to believe that, in the light of what Gandhiji had told the Viceroy about the "blood-bath", he would be easily taken in by the plea of non-coercion; as for Self-determination, his article of 18—5—1940 gives the lie direct to such an assumption; an indefinite continuance of the British rule in India was definitely discarded in his talk with the Viceroy on the 1st April; and as for his "sympathetic views about Dominion Status," after all that had happened since the time of the Lahore Congress (1929) where the ideal of "Poorna Swaraj" was proclaimed, the 'Quit India' campaign of 1942, and the Meerut declaration (1946) in favour of a Republican India, it is hard to digest that the Mahatma would stoop to accept Partition in exchange for even a double "Dominion Status". All told, it is an unfortunate story —this, of Gandhiji's meeting with the Viceroy.

The other question, viz., as to why the Mahatma did not pursue his faith into action, seems equally difficult of answering. In one of his earlier writings on vivisection, he wrote: "As a man of non-violence, I cannot forcibly resist the proposed Partition if the Muslims of India really insist upon it. But I can never be a willing party to vivisection. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it." (d/ 13—4—1940). On a number of occasions previously, e.g., in the case of his Non-co-operation in 1920-21; his Harijan fast of 1932; his War-policy in 1939-40; the rejection of the Cripps proposals as a 'post-dated cheque upon a non-existent Bank', which he turned into a dynamic 'Quit India' campaign; Gandhiji showed what he meant by living for one's faith. But here, in 1947, when the Partition was actually effected—a thing which he himself had dubbed as a "denial of God", "an untruth", a "sin", "which cannot come by honourable agreement" —this great "Volcano of non-violence" ceased to erupt. No wonder that I wrote to Sardar Patel at the time:

"Can we believe it that the Volcano has lost its fire—the Sardar his sword —and the tiger has become a tame and fleeing cat? Otherwise, the non-violent surrender to goondaism, as announced by Pandit Nehru over the Radio last night, is inexplicable. I still refuse to believe that you have reconciled yourself to Partition. But if it is true, it will be the greatest act of treachery, I mean collectively, ever known to human history".

The role of Lord Mountbatten in bringing about a 'settlement' of the Indian question has been rightly praised by the British politicians. But from the Indian standpoint, we have got to examine the manner in which his Lordship brought about that settlement.

The circumstances under which his Lordship took charge of the Indian Viceroyalty have been already detailed in an earlier chapter The terms of the Instrument of Instructions of his appointment were —

(i) "The definite objective of the British Government is to obtain a unitary Government for British India and the Indian States, if possible within the British Commonwealth, through the medium of a Constituent Assembly set up and run in accordance with the Cabinet Mission Plan. He was instructed to do the utmost in his power to persuade all parties to work together towards this end

(ii) "Since, however, the Cabinet Mission Plan can become operative in respect of British India only by agreement between the two major parties, there can be no question of compelling either party to accept it. If, by the 1st October, Mountbatten considers there is no prospect of reaching a settlement on the basis of Unitary Government, he is to report to the British Government on the steps he considers should be taken for the hand-over of power on the due date.

(iii) "For guidance in his relations with the States, he (Mountbatten) was to do his best to persuade the rulers of States in which political progress had been slow to go forward rapidly towards the introduction of some form of more democratic Government in their States and toward the formulation of fair and just arrangements with the leaders of British India as to their future relationships.

(iv) "As far as administration of British India was concerned, the key-note of this was to be the closest co-operation with Indians

(v) "Transfer of power was to be in accordance with Indian Defence requirements, and he was to impress upon the Indian leaders the importance of avoiding a break in the continuity of the Indian Army and to point out the need for continued collaboration in the security of the Indian Ocean."

Under these instructions, the new Viceroy arrived at Delhi on 22nd March, 1947, and was sworn in on the 24th.

From the 24th March to the 5th April—it was not even a fortnight, both days inclusive. Yet, let us see wh ' his Press

Attache has to say on the latter date. Thus, writing on 5th April, he says: "Now, at the end of the first fortnight, the main strategy of Mountbatten's plan, together with its tactical application, has already taken shape. He has had to start from scratch, but no time has been lost. His primary aim is to achieve a solution which inspires sufficient good feeling to enable the Indian parties to remain within the Commonwealth structure from the outset. He is bending every effort to keep the Cabinet Mission Plan alive; but on the assumption that Jinnah's power and purpose are sustained, the facilities for partition will have to be allowed for. He appreciates the logic of the argument that partition of the Centre involves similar treatment for those provinces where the two communities are equally divided" (p. 55).

The above passage is self-revealing. Because the new Viceroy was sent to India to bend all his energies for six months to the successful implementation of the Cabinet Mission's ideal of a Unitary Government for all-India; but, according to his Press Attache who was a member of his inner circle, Lord Mountbatten's "primary aim" became "a solution which inspires sufficient good feeling to enable the Indian parties to remain within the Commonwealth structure" from the beginning. Elsewhere, the author records that the words, "if possible within the British Commonwealth" in clause (i) of the Instrument of Instructions were specially inserted at the instance of Lord Mountbatten himself. No wonder that the new Viceroy deliberately changed the chief objective before the Nation, which, according to Indian needs as well as the intentions of the British Prime Minister and Government, was a single Union for undivided India, within or outside the Commonwealth; but within a fortnight of his landing in India, Lord Mountbatten's chief concern was to keep the 'Indian parties' within the British Commonwealth, even if the 'Indian Empire' was to be broken into bits thereby, nay, to secure such Commonwealth association by sacrificing the Unity of India which was his first charge and the proudest heritage of British rule in India.

"On the assumption that Jinnah's power and purpose are sustained", the Viceroy thought, that "facilities for partition have to be allowed for". But the whole question is, was such an

assumption warranted by the facts of the situation or by his *Instrument of Instructions?* *Was thirteen days' experience in his* new office enough to justify such an assumption? Should he not have taken more time and more steps to study the situation at first hand before abandoning the core of the Cabinet Mission's scheme? Nor should it be forgotten that the new Viceroy was a complete stranger to the numerous and complicated problems of the Indian situation, which had baffled many an expert previously for decades. For example, even the European opinion in India about Lord Mountbatten at the time of his appointment, to quote the Press Attache himself, considered:

(1) "that he (Mountbatten) knows nothing about India;
(2) that he is bringing a staff who know nothing about India,
(3) that he is a play-boy" (pp. 39-40)

But to proceed with our story. Under date the 15th April, the Press Attache writes:

> "On the eve of the Conference, the broad principles of Mountbatten's plan are.—(1) That the responsibility for partition, if it comes, is to rest fairly upon the Indians themselves, (2) The provinces generally-speaking shall have the right to determine their own future; (3) Bengal and the Punjab are to be notionally partitioned for voting purposes; (4) The predominently Moslem Sylhet district in Assam is to be given the option of joining the Moslem province created by a partitioned Bengal; (5) General elections are to be held in the N.W.F. Province" (p. 62).

The "Conference" above referred to was a meeting of the Provincial Governors which was convened by the Viceroy on the 16th April—i e, on the 24th day of his assuming charge And about the Conference itself, we read: "There was a big discussion on the whole draft partition plan which Mountbatten had put together in time for the Conference" (p 66).

On 19th April, Mountbatten told Lord Ismay (Viceroy's Chief of Staff): "Whatever its implications, he was beginning to think Pakistan was inevitable" (p 66) On 26th April, "Mountbatten has decided to send Ismay and George Abell to London with the first draft of the plan, to hammer it out, clause by clause, with the Government and the Officials concerned". And on 2nd May, "Ismay and Abell left for London, taking with them the draft plan for the British Government's consideration"

(p. 84). On 15th May, the Viceroy himself was summoned to London; on 22nd, the British Government set its seal of approval for the same; and on 31st, Lord Mountbatten was back in Delhi.

Thus, it is clear that, inspite of what Gandhiji had told his post-prayer audience, it was Lord Mountbatten, and he alone, who, within a few days after his arrival in India, took up the partition plan and got the approval of the British Government as well as of the Indian leaders almost within a month after his coming over to India. "The impact of Lord Mountbatten's forceful personality", writes Brigadier Desmond Young, "and astounding energy produced electrifying results. He swept the Indian leaders along at such speed that they had no time to draw breath to quibble. In this highly charged atmosphere, Partition was rushed through before the Hindu hatred of the idea had time to gather weight" (p. 258). Or, as the 'Manchester Guardian' wrote at the time, "The British departure turned into cut and run", where it was intended to be a peaceful transfer of power.

And before coming to this conclusion, whom, among those who knew India or were intimately connected with the Indian Problem, did his Lordship consult?

Before breaking away from the most vital part of the Cabinet Mission scheme, the Viceroy never cared to consult the Constituent Assembly which was in session during April, at any rate—the one body in India which was charged with the shaping of her future destiny.

We do not think that His Excellency had taken the trouble of summoning the Central Legislature for placing his views before the members of both the Houses.

The first Press Conference the new Viceroy held was on 4th June, the day after the announcement of the new plan.

In the Governor's Conference held on 16th April, so far at least as Bengal was concerned, Mr. Jenkins told the Viceroy that "East Bengal will become a rural slum." "There were some 25 million Hindus in Bengal—45%; and they all wanted to be absorbed into Hindustan. The concept of East Bengal was unacceptable to many local Moslems" (p. 65). It was also felt that even the N.W.F. Province would be a liability. Sir Akbar

Hydari, the patriotic Governor of Assam, told the Viceroy · "We should stand firm for the Union and for the Federal solution, invoking the second part of the great 1935 Act to provide the machinery for this purpose. If we do this, seven of the eleven provinces will come in at once" (p. 54). The Governor of Bengal was in favour of making Calcutta "a free city", in case there was to be partition of his province.

Among the Indian leaders, Gandhiji, of course, was consulted, but between the Viceroy and the Congress leaders, he was cleverly hemmed in and made inoperative so to say

Among the Princes, we are told, the Viceroy granted interviews to Bhopal and Bikaner on the 25th March, but we have already seen that the Princes or their Chamber were not taken into the confidence of the Viceroy over the partition proposals till a few hours before their announcement on 3rd June.

Among those of the political parties who had played a prominent part in organising War efforts in the country and had helped Britain and her Allies to come out victorious in the war, and what was more to the purpose, who shouldered the burden of National Defence in the country during the critical period when the sole attention of the British Government lay elsewhere and the Congress had decided to "walk into the wilderness", and the League had been playing ducks and drakes with everything and everybody—the Viceroy never cared to meet the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha or of the Justice Party or the Communists, Ambedkarites or the Royists or any others in the country, who really counted either for India or for the Commonwealth.

Among those whom the Viceroy met, we are told, there were Mr. J. J. Singh of the American Friends of India Union, who, it appears, spoke of the "possibility of a revolution" in the country, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, who "took credit as the first to have suggested an early transfer of power to India" on the basis of *Dominion Status*; and Sir *Mirza Ismail*, who was still wailing over his lost Prime Ministership of Hyderabad.

From the beginning, the new Viceroy was infatuated with two things—(1) The Congress and the League leaders; and (2) the earliest transfer of power. But it will be curious that he

was warned against both by the great British leader, Mr. (Now Sir) Winston Churchill. For instance, in his speech in the House of Commons on 6-3-1947, on the declaration of 20th February, he said:

"India may be subjected not merely to partition, but to fragmentation, and to haphazard fragmentation". The time-limit (of June 1948), "far from bringing the Indian parties to their senses, was calculated to make them step up their demands". "These parties' claims to represent the Indian masses were fictitious." "In handing over the Government of India to these so-called political classes, we are handing over to men of straw of whom, in a few years more, no trace will remain". "He found wholly incomprehensible the time-limit for India, but the lack of it for Palestine".

The patriotic British Press and a servile Indian Press will continue to hail Lord Mountbatten as the bravest, the noblest and the most forceful and wise of all the British Viceroys in India. But if truth is to be told, he was the most inexperienced, ill-informed, and rash among all those who governed India on Britain's behalf. It is a pity that the Congress leaders who had gathered round His Excellency had not got either the foresight to look beyond their Ministerial posts or the guts to resist this sinister diplomacy of the new Viceroy. On the 7th April, we are told, Mr. Jinnah had advised Lord Mountbatten that a quick decision was called for. "It will have to be a surgical operation", he said, and the Viceroy added: "An anaesthetic is required before the operation". After all, it proved to be "an unnatural operation" even according to Pandit Nehru. Before Lord Mountbatten sailed for India, we are told, Sir Stafford Cripps, that noble Englishman who did so much for his country and for ours, offered to serve as liaison between him and the Indian leaders—an offer, however, which was spurned by the Viceroy-designate.

There is no doubt of the masterly, resolute and forceful nature of Lord Mountbatten; and as I wrote elsewhere, "It was a case of remarkable assertion and triumph of a masterly personality in favour of a self-willed Muslim leader, as against a weak-willed and weak-kneed Congress, an irresolute Sikh Junta and a leaderless Mahasabha. But in the midst of it all, is the total crash of the great personality and character of Mahatma

Gandhi who did not believe in the partition of India, and yet would not resist it with all his soul, as he had done previously at the time of the Cripps' Mission And why did it all happen like that? We can hardly know. We can only attribute it to Providence—Divine Dispensation For, did not Chiro, long before these Cripps' proposals, Cabinet and Mountbatten Missions, prophesy the outbreak of the great war in 1939, at the end of which the British Empire would be dismembered; India would, after a period of anarchy, be divided into two States, for the Buddhists and the Mohammadans, he said; and the future of Britain herself would grow dim?"* And so it happened, to the very letter

21. SADHUS AND WOMEN OPPOSE

Women and the Sadhus of India have always been the conscience-keepers of the Indian Spirit and tradition, the former out of their blind faith, and the latter through a highly realised *Jnaana* or Knowledge. There is not much evidence to show that the women of Hindustan had any effective voice to protest against the vivisection of 'Mother India'; but so far as the Sadhus are concerned, here is what we read from that highly informative book, "Mission with Mountbatten."

Thus, on the evening of the 3rd June, while the Viceroy and the leaders were proceeding to the All-India Radio House in Parliament Street to make their fateful announcements, we are told:

"Officials were leaning out of all the windows and cramming the balconies. A small crowd has also gathered round the entrance to the building. A small group of Sadhus, distinctive in their bright caps of holy orange, began shouting out slogans just as we were entering the building. No sooner had they started to demonstrate than they were scooped into our following Police car. The neatness of the operation made the assembled Indians, otherwise passively polite, scream with laughter. These Sadhus have come from various parts of the country and have pitched their tents on the banks of the Jumna, there to protest against the betrayal of Hindu life and customs, which, they are convinced, any form of Partition must involve."

Posterity will be much indebted to the author for this small bit of news which the other news agencies of the country do not seem to have covered. For here, we read, that there was a voice of protest—nay shouting out of slogans also—just as the partitioners were entering the building; and soon as they began to demonstrate their protest, they were 'neatly scooped' into a police van following the Viceroy's party. The assembled Indians were 'passively polite', but at the police operation, they 'screamed with laughter!' Will any one 'scream' out of laughter? And all officials—those neuter genders to whom it matters little perhaps whether Rama ruled or Ravana ruled—were all curiosity for witnessing the Tamasha! But so far as the Sadhus are concer-

ned, shall we not, in passing, say: All honour to them! They are the true representatives of our real Bharat. For they embody our real Bharateeya spirit, much more than our Congresses or Conferences in the country

And as regards the women In a Jubbulpore message dated August 3, we read

"The Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference which met at Jubbulpore from July 26 to 28 passed the following resolutions —

"On the occasion of the first step towards the transfer of power from foreign to Indian hands, the Standing Committee pays its homage to all those of our country-men and women—for their years of struggle, suffering and martyrdom and to the Indian people for their steadfast loyalty to the cause of freedom which has made this possible The Standing Committee, however, notes with grief and apprehension that our objective of a free United India has not been achieved and that the age-old imperialist policy of divide and rule is seeking to perpetuate itself and that the British are leaving India only after dividing the country torn by strife and violence and paving the way for further disruption

"It reiterates once again its faith in national unity and complete independence, free from all vestiges and controls of foreign interests It hopes that the other foreign powers, France and Portugal, will also relinquish their hold and enable those parts of the country, as unnaturally divided, to join the Indian Union and add to the national strength

"It also reaffirms the belief that freedom can become meaningful only when translated in terms of a transformation in the life of the Indian masses, guaranteeing them those essentials which make for a full human existence, a democratic Government based on the sovereignty and freedom of the people, civil liberties and maximum opportunities for progressive material, social and intellectual growth. For, it is only people vested with power and responsibility that can defend their freedom and maintain peace.

"The Standing Committee expresses its emphatic disapproval of political parties and political claims based on religious

or communal foundations and regards this tradition as a disruptive force undermining the unity of the people. It believes that all rights should be governed by human needs and all claims supported on merits, while guaranteeing the fullest freedom for worship, fostering of cultures, languages, etc.

"The Standing Committee calls upon its members to pull their fullest weight with all the progressive forces in the country in order to foster peace and harmony amongst the people in spite of the territorial division. For civil strife will not only frustrate national growth, but lays open the country for fresh economic and political domination.

"The Standing Committee regards the autocratic feudal regime in the Indian States as an anachronism in a free India, and realises that Indian freedom and Unity can become a reality only when the sovereignty of the people of the States is recognised and democratic rule established to bring them in line with the rest of India.

"The Standing Committee, therefore, notes with regret and alarm the continued repression of the people of the States by their rulers even while those rulers participate in the framing of a democratic Constitution for a free India in the Indian Constituent Assembly, and the even more dangerous tendency on the part of some Princes to break up the natural unity of the people by standing apart from the rest of India. The Standing Committee believes that the people's wishes alone should prevail. It, therefore, gives its whole-hearted support to the peoples' movements in the States for responsible Government. It also warns against the claims of certain rulers to territories which are not under their jurisdiction. No such transfers should be effected without the consent of the people concerned.

"The Standing Committee condemns the action of the British Government in encouraging these disruptive tendencies fraught with grave danger for India. It specially grieves over the position created for Berar, where the people of a whole province are being coerced to abdicate their established sovereignty and accept that of a personal rule, surrender their existing democratic rights and accept an autocratic regime. It offers its whole-hearted sympathy and support to the Berar people in their struggle to uphold their inherent right to the rule of their choice."

In the crisis that faced the country on account of the proposed Partition, we have seen, the Hindu Mahasabha failed to give a proper lead. With Veer Savarkar lying ill on bed, and its President, Sree Bhopatkar, grown senile, and its Working President gone over to Nehru at the biddance of Mr Birla, there was a vacuum in the country How to fill it? For filled it must be, because, in the absence of any responsible leadership, the younger section among the Hindus, Maharatta youths especially, were getting impatient and beyond control, and anarchy was threatening the land—a disorder that led ultimately to the assassination of the Nation's most respected leader himself within six months after the partition.

It might be here recalled that, between the period of the partition and the time of the murder of the Mahatma, though the Congress was ruling the country, its leaders could not muster any support in the Delhi City itself—on any political question particularly Their bosom friends—the Musalmans—had left the City mostly; the Hindu heart was lacerated and quite alienated to the ruling party; and the inpouring refugees—Sikhs and Hindus equally—were wrath against the Congress, so much so that, if there was any test election not only in Delhi but anywhere in North India, the Congress would have forfeited its security. In fact, the Congress leaders could not hold a single public meeting (apart from their official Flag—functions etc., which were tolerated partly because of their essential sanctity and partly because of their military bandobust) to justify the Partition or on any other political subject. And towards the end of November, when there was an A. I C. C. meeting and its leaders and Chief Ministers from almost all the provinces were assembled at Delhi, the Delhi Congress people could summon sufficient courage to organise a meeting in the City for demanding Hindi, as opposed to the Gandhian Hindastani, as the *lingua franca* of India As the subject was a popular and pro-Hindu one, there was a large gathering of about twenty to twenty-five thousands; but when all the Provincial Chiefs were seated on the dais, a dozen or two Mahratta young men mounted up to the dais, and gave those leaders some slaps on the face and pulled

them down to the ground, one by one, saying "Oh! you are here? Please get down." Among those who shared this fate, were Messrs Ravi Shankar Shukla, B. G. Kher, Anantasayanam Iyengar and many others. On the other hand, any pro-Hindu meeting, anywhere in the North, was attended by thousands of people and the bitterest criticism against the Congress was applauded with ringing cheers.

What, then, was the remedy to meet the situation? Dr. N. B. Khare, the dismissed Chief Minister of the Central Provinces during the Congress regime, who was now Prime Minister of Alwar, came to the rescue. On the 8th July, 1947, in course of a circular letter he wrote:

"The country is passing through momentous times. India has been divided and seeds have been sown of a possible large-scale internal struggle at some future date, unless our superior wisdom and organisation made it possible for us to avoid it. The Congress has accepted the division of India on religious lines, and takes for granted the creation of a Muslim State on the East and West of Hindustan, but refuses to recognise the inevitability, under these circumstances, of the rest of India being constituted as a Hindu State. According to them, it must continue a joint State of Hindus and Muslims. Thus the Muslims have got Pakistan and will continue to share the rest of India if the Congress view holds the field.

"The behaviour of the Musalmans during the past year has made it clear that all efforts of the Congress for Hindu-Muslim Unity have miserably failed, and that no Musalman can be trusted to be faithful to Hindustan. In case of any big emergency, the Musalmans will surely act as saboteurs, and this danger must be taken into account while drafting our Constitution, in order that it may be possible for us to discriminate against them in the interests of the security of the country. Likewise, the Congress, inability to help the Hindus against Muslim goondaism has necessarily flown in the main from the fact that it is a joint body of Hindus and Muslims. The doctrine of Non-violence, as preached by Mahatma Gandhi, has been a great menace to the strength and political advancement of the Hindus who are the only people that listen to him.

"Under the circumstances, it has become imperative to give the country a new lead We need a United Hindu National Front which will gather all the strength of all Hindus of India, irrespective of their class, province, religious denomination or past political affiliations We must have a powerful platform to forge sanctions for the enforcement of the Hindus in their Homeland. The Congress Government must be made either to yield to these demands or to quit and make place for those who represent the real wishes of the Hindus. For this, obviously, the Hindu Mahasabha must be strengthened by infusing new blood into it All Hindus, princes and people, must be invited to join it.

"For this purpose, it is proposed to hold an all-India Hindu Convention, to which leading Hindus, including Princes, should be invited to evolve a political programme"

The draft invitation enclosed to the above circular *inter alia* reads: "The political change which has come over the country owing to the partition of India on communal lines has made it imperative to the Hindus, Princes and People, to organise a political platform to forge sanctions for the protection of their interests and the realisation of a National Home for Hindus or a Hindu Rashtra. With the termination of Paramountcy, the artificial wall dividing the states from the provinces has disappeared; and it is only proper that the princes and people from all over Hindustan should gather together to consider their joint future"

As this Convention was about the only serious effort that was made to consider the situation created by the Partition, it is imperative that we know some more details about it here. The Convention was scheduled to be held at New Delhi on the 9th and 10th August, 1947. But as ill-luck would have it, neither Dr Khare, the President-designate, nor the Maharajah of Alwar who was to have inaugurated the Convention, was able to attend the session, because of serious disturbances in Alwar and in the neighbouring areas. Therefore, Veer Savarkar who had deemed it his duty to attend despite his illness was voted to the Chair and the Maharajah's opening speech was read by his Private Secretary. The principal resolution of the Convention, relating to the Partition question, reads thus :—

Resolved

"That this Convention of Hindus, comprising of representatives of all shades of opinion from all over India, views with dismay the decision of the partition of the country on the basis of religion. Such political recognition of religion is fraught with disaster to India and it is amazing how the Indian National Congress which has always stood for an undivided India and for politics being kept free from the influence of religion, betrayed its fundamental principles and oft-repeated election pledges and agreed to the partition of Hindusthan on a basis which lends permanent strength to the two-Nation theory of the Muslim League.

"This Convention declares that the Hindus have not accepted this partition; that the Congress has accepted it without reference to the people; that the British Government had no right to devolve power on a political party without consulting the wishes of the people through a free referendum and consequently the Hindus do not recognise this division of India as a final verdict on the destiny of Hindusthan.

"The Hindus hereby pledge themselves to the cause of a United India as their Homeland and pledge themselves to bring about a reunion of the seceding parts of Hindusthan.

"Till that is achieved, and in order that it is achieved quicker, it is now imperative that Hindusthan is developed as a Hindu Rashtra, to be officially called Hindusthan, with Sanskrit-based Hindi written in Devanagari script as the official language, with its Flag saffron-coloured, and Vandemataram as its National Anthem. This Hindu Rashtra shall, in its Constitution, provide for the stoppage of the killing of the Cow as an emblem of the National tradition of Hindusthan.

"While all citizens will have equal rights in this State, it must be recognised that, in view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Musalmans of India have supported the partition of India on the basis of the recognition of Musalmans as a separate nation, and in view of the detestable programmes perpetrated on Hindus in pursuance of the Direct Action of the Muslim League; and in view of the fact that the Musalmans of Hindusthan bear a real sense of loyalty to Pakistan, a foreign State,

the State of Hindusthan shall reserve the power to discriminate against the Musalmans if and where it is deemed necessary to do so, in the interests of the safety of the Realm, its internal security and external defence and the solidarity of its administrative machine.

"That, as the Non-Muslims living in areas now included in Pakistan never accepted the partition which is now being forced on them, they shall be regarded as nationals of Hindusthan and shall have all the rights of citizens of Hindusthan when they are in Hindusthan The Union of Hindusthan will look after their interests as the interests of its own nationals and will render them all help and encouragement to develop along lines conducive to the Union of the seceding parts with Hindusthan.

"That, in view of the urgent and imperative need of strengthening the defences of the country, it is necessary to take immediate steps to raise an extensive National Militia; and for this, in view of this Convention, compulsory military training should be imparted to the Hindu Youth and they should be encouraged to keep arms

"That, in view of the fact that Urdu is a remnant of the foreign domination of India which is terminated from a major part of India, it is necessary that it (Urdu) should be abolished from all Government offices, Legislatures, Courts and other public bodies; and in Hindi-speaking provinces, Sanskrit-based Hindi, written in Devanagari script, shall be used as the court and official language, as well as the medium of instruction in all stages of the educational system For other parts, the regional languages shall take the same place to the total exclusion of English, provided that the National language for all-India shall be Hindi

"This Convention requests the Government of India to accept the policy laid down above as the express wish of the vast majority of the people of Hindusthan and to declare in unequivocal terms their adherence to it It also requests the Constituent Assembly to incorporate it suitably in the Constitution of India.

"If the Government hesitates in implementing this [illegible] the Convention will be forced to call upon the Government [illegible]

hold general elections at the earliest date for ascertaining the wishes of the electorates on this issue.

"This Convention calls upon the Hindus to organise themselves on the basis of the policy laid down above and to forge popular sanctions for its acceptance and enforcement by the Government of India."

Among the other resolutions passed by the Convention were that it should strive to inculcate military spirit among the Hindu youth and to exhort them to join institutions where military training could be had. The rulers of the Indian States were to be approached for providing facilities for such training. The Committee was also asked to contact and get the support of the religious, denominational and caste organisations of the Hindus and their Volunteer organisations with a view to carry on their activities for the purpose laid down by the Convention. The meeting further conveyed its most profound and heart-felt sympathies with the people of the partitioned territories, Hindus and Sikhs especially, who, during the last one year, have been put to the most ghastly and unprecedented hardships and sufferings.

With the mounting "Meo rebellion", about which we shall read in a subsequent chapter, in putting down which both the Maharajah of Alwar and Dr. Khare had to actively engage themselves for some months, and the assassination of the Mahatma in which both of them were unjustly implicated, the Convention could not make much headway. And after the murder of the Mahatma, it was a reign of terror everywhere, for suppressing any pro-Hindu activity particularly.

23. WAS THERE NO ALTERNATIVE?

It is often said—in fact, it has become a trite saying on the lips of every Congressman—that the Congress had no other go but to agree to partition, under the circumstances then obtaining in the country And before proceeding to record the actual events of the partition, it behoves us to examine this contention pretty carefully.

It will be recalled, in this connection, that, before the 1946 elections, the Congress Manifesto declared: "The Congress has stood for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen of India, man or woman. It has stood for the unity of all communities and religious groups and for tolerance and goodwill between them. It has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius The Congress has envisaged a free, democratic State, with the fundamental rights and civil liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in the Constitution. This Constitution, in its view, should be a Federal one, with a great deal of autonomy for its constituent units and its legislative organs elected under universal adult franchise " And it appealed to the voters: "Let us march together to the Free India of our dreams". Mark the words, "India of our dreams", and not "Indias" or "India and Pakistan".

Again, at its Meerut session, after the elections, the Congress defined its objective thus: "On the eve of the summoning of the Constituent Assembly to frame a Constitution for India, the Congress declares that it stands for an Independent, Sovereign Republic, wherein all powers and authority are derived from the people, and for a Constitution wherein social objectives are laid down to promote freedom, progress and equal opportunity for all the people of India, so that this ancient land may attain its rightful and honoured place in the World peace and the progress and welfare of mankind and directs all Congressmen to work to this end." And here again, the direction is for *one* "Independent, Sovereign Republic", and not two Republics or Dominions.

Two questions arise from these declarations. Having solemnly pledged themselves, both before and after the General Election, to work for a United India, (1) should not these Congress friends seek the verdict of the voters in case they t[illegible] it

necessary to accept any Partition proposals? (2) Or alternatively, should they not at least convene a Special Session of their own organisation, which had been claiming to represent all the forty crores of our people here, and get its sanction before committing themselves to a new policy different from the one previously adopted at Meerut? Or are the voters of India and the Congress members to be treated as mere puppets of the 'High Command', just to serve as Rubber-stamps for dittoing whatever these leaders had done or said? These are relevant questions, and must be answered squarely.

On the former question, I may quote here a Press statement issued by me at the time, entitled—

Volta face of the Congress Leaders

"The proposed division of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan which the Congress leaders now seem to have reconciled themselves to, is such an important step for the future of the country that it cannot be allowed to go unnoticed by the thinking public who have got the good of the people at heart. Incidentally, such a division is opposed both to the Congress election manifesto on which its nominees secured an overwhelming support of the Hindu electorate at the time of the last elections and to which they owe their places in our Legislatures, Ministries and in the Constituent Assembly today, and also to the Cabinet Mission's scheme of May 16. If, therefore, the Congress leaders should now decide upon a change in the major premises of the new Constitution, they should first resign their seats both in the Legislatures and in the Constituent Assembly, and seek a fresh verdict of the country on the proposed division, never mind with what territorial boundaries for the present. Otherwise, not only the gravest harm will be done to the country by this sudden volta face of the Congress leadership which goes counter to the creed of the Congress itself and the traditions of unity and integrity which stand at the root of our entire aspiration and effort in this country, but the Congress action will have become the greatest act of inconsistency known to human history."—'*The Maharatta*', May, 1947.

People talk of Constitutional Government. But to advise the Governor-General to seek the verdict of the people on such an

important change—where it ran counter to their previous policies and pledges especially—was it not an obvious duty of a Constitutional Government? The Congress leaders had abstained from these offices for so long—for over twenty-five years—that they might have thrown them off once again, if need be. And if the people desired to have partition, then nobody could blame the Congress for it Yet when the question was put to them, the Congress leaders became mum! If these leaders had raised their little voice against Partition and resisted the proposal with their resignations, no Viceroy—not even Lord Mountbatten—would have dared to defy such a protest. And if he did, and if he still persisted in carrying out the division with the help of the Muslim League and the British Army, the responsibility would have been on others' shoulders. But as things stood, it became a case of "*Et tu Congress*! Then fall Indian Unity!"

A second way of vindicating their Dharma for these Congress friends would have been by resisting their High Command from inside the Congress. If the Working Committee went wrong, it would be for the A.I.C.C. to correct it. If the A.I.C.C. also failed in its duty, there was the Special Congress recipe. The suggestion was put to them. But even in the case of 'Raja Rishi' Tandon, a mistaken loyalty to the Congress came in the way of his loyalty to the country. Or as in the case of Tennyson's Knight,

"His Honour rooted in dishonour stood."

Thus the Congress would neither give up offices and *call for a* People's verdict; nor would any of its members ask for a special session of the Congress or dissociate themselves from it and form a new party or organisation for vindicating their professed faith in India's eternal unity. But there was a much more direct way in which the Congress leaders could have acted, but did not.

It will be remembered that, by the time the [illegible] Congress pourparlers were proceeding, the Constituent Assembly had met already and adopted its famous resolution on 'Objectives' and was busy setting up various committees and [illegible] mittees and holding periodical sessions. The resolution on [illegible] "Objectives" adopted as early as January [illegible] members absenting—declared that [illegible]

Independent Republic." The Congress leaders were proclaiming from house-tops that the Assembly itself was a sovereign body. When such was the case, and when the new Governor-General had come out with a proposal for "two independent Dominions" in place of a single "Union of India, embracing both British India and the States" (to quote the words of the Cabinet Mission's plan) or a "Sovereign Independent Republic" (in terms of the above Objectives' resolution), was it not reason that the new proposals of Lord Mountbatten should be placed before a special session of the Constituent Assembly and its views thereon obtained, as a matter of courtesy at least, if not as an obligation under law? At the time of the Mountbatten proposals, there was no higher or more representative body in the whole country than the Constituent Assembly. And yet our Congress leaders had no need to place the Viceroy's proposals before it for its consideration and acceptance or rejection.

In justification of their action, Sardar Patel was reported to have said that, if they had not agreed to partition in 1947, every cell in India would have developed into a 'Pakistani cell.' Granting it, so for argument's sake, one will have to enquire, who was to blame for it?

It will be recalled here that, for the bulk of the Gandhian epoch, from 1921 to 1946, the Congress had adopted, inspite of the warnings of men like Tilak, Das, Lajapat Rai and many others, a policy of boycott of Councils, Offices and the Army, while the Muslim leaders—the League protagonists particularly—had throughout adopted a pragmatic policy, of capturing these bodies as far as possible and fighting as best as they could from within and without, for achieving their objects, however laudable or otherwise these be. And this policy proved particularly disastrous for the Nation during the War-period, when posts and offices grew like mushrooms, patronage multiplied, and power became centred in the hands of those who stood at the helm of affairs in the State. No wonder, therefore, if every cell in the Government became a Pro-Pakistanee cell. Any observer at Delhi at that awful time can, therefore, vouch for the facts of the situation that induced the Sardar to make the above remark. Thus no Hindu home would get its telephone message promptly. Why? Because the Telephone Exchange was manned and

womanned mostly by the League's nominess. No Secretariat Clerk would dutifully obey his Congress boss. And why? Because he owed his appointment, promotion, and existence to Mr. Jinnah's recommendation—even the Hindu clerks, mind! It was so not merely in the civilian and police ranks The Army, particularly in the North, was a safe nest for these Musalman soldiers As every one knew, the revolt in Alwar was led by the soldiery; and Delhi itself was in danger barely a month after Independence! What the Sardar said, therefore, as a diagnosis of the then existing facts, was fairly correct But the question remains, who was responsible for such a plight? Was it not the unreal, or shall we say too idealistic policy pursued by the Congress both before and during the War?

But the main question we have been examining is, was there no real alternative to Partition in the year of Grace 1947? In the hustle that Lord Mountbatten had created for these people, for men of poor faith and limited vision, who had been trained to Gandhian *Ahimsa*, there might have been none, though, even in the *Ahimsik* way, as we have seen, there would have been a way if there was a *will* on the part of those who professed both non-violence and national unity. And the greatest regret of the time—in fact, the most unkindest cut of all—was that "this Volcano of non-violence" did not erupt. But that sort of *Satyagraha* was a purely Gandhian business, and so far as the rest of this frail, earthly, humanity is concerned, the question again is, was there no alternative?

Here, it is to be remembered that those who have known Mr. Jinnah pretty intimately have always averred to two things, viz., (1) that he was essentially a civilised creature and not a blood-thirsty hound; and (2) that he was as much a bluffer as a bully. And in dealing with such a man—and events have proved that he had a real hold over his lieutenants—if an effort of self-assertion was made on the part of the Indian leaders to vindicate the Nation's self-interest and meet the League's Direct Action in a manly manner, ten to one, the chances were in favour of the League leaders calling off their bluff and violence both. It was not an easy matter, of course, but the [illegible] was certainly well worth trying; and the [illegible] was not.

There are two aspects of the situation: (a) Concerning the Congressmen; and (b) as regards the rest of them in the country. And as far as the former were concerned, their main handicap was their pledge of 'Non-coercion' *alias Ahimsa.* But during the last war, the very same people were willing and prepared to fight the Axis powers with arms in case there was to be aggression from outside. And yet, for preserving their cherished internal Unity, these leaders would not think of any organised resistance to meet the goondaism let loose in the country!

And as regards the rest of them in the country, I should first of all record here the result of an important mission of mine to one of the prominent Dewans of the day who had played no mean part in the cause of United India previously. Thus, soon after the Mountbatten Agreement was announced, I met the Dewan for obtaining some light on this momentous matter, and particularly to learn how the Princes, who had all along stood by Indian Unity *cum* Independence, had so suddenly changed over to Partition. And the Dewan revealed that, in modifying the Cabinet Mission scheme, neither the Princes nor their Dewans had been consulted. And they could know of it only just before it was announced, when it was too late to act. A corroboration of this will be found in Alan C. Johnson's book, wherein, we are told, that "at 4—o'clock (on June 3rd), Mountbatten addressed the States' Negotiating Committee;" and obviously told them of the proposed partition. As soon as he learnt about it, the Dewan Saheb further told me, he rushed to Sardar Patel for protesting against the arrangement. And the following conversation then took place between them.

Dewan:—How is it? Did you give your consent to this Plan?

Patel:—We had to. We felt, there was no other go.

Dewan:—Evidently you are afraid of the League's Direct Action. Having been trained to the Gandhian *Charkha*, I can very well understand your difficulty. And I can sympathise with you. But do you think that the Princes and the People of this country who have helped Britain, with their men and money, to win in two world wars, are all dead?

Patel:—Oh! It is too late now. It is all settled.

Dewan:—It is never too late Even now, give us a chance. I shall go about the various States and enlist men and collect the necessary money. Though I am pretty old—nearing seventy—I shall myself take the field. And so far as my State is concerned, you may take my offer here and now. We shall thus teach an unforgettable lesson to Mr Jinnah.

Patel:—Oh! Never mind! It is better, we thought, we are rid of this nuisance It is enough if we have got half of the Punjab and half of Bengal.

Dewan (Laughing):—It is a foolish idea Because with Lahore in alien hands, it will be but a bomb-throw at Delhi With Dacca in others' hands, it will be but a step to Calcutta

Patel:—We have settled it It is finished

The above conversation is important in that is provides an answer to the question which we have been examining in this Chapter, viz., whether there was any real alternative to a meek acquiescence in the partition proposal in which practically no Hindu believed, including the Congress Hindus. The Congress, undoubtedly, was wedded to non-violence; and it was not trained to the use of arms. Therefore, no one can quarrel with it seriously if it did not raise an Army to meet the League's Direct Action. But Mr. Jinnah was never a follower of the Mahatma None of his League members was a votary of *Ahimsa* A time of critical transition, as in 1946-47, would be a period when all sorts of goondas and other 'unsocial elements' would be let loose everywhere. And instead of trying to meet your opponent's sword with a Khaddar garland—it would have been another matter if there could have been a lakh of 'Gandhi Guards' to meet that awful crisis,—if the Congress leaders could consult those who had the necessary training, experience and equipment for meeting sword with sword, the Unity of the country could have been saved.*

Finally, there is the argument of Dr. Rajendra Prasad [illegible] those days, who defended the Congress position by saying that being wedded to Non-violence, they could not think of [illegible]

* Did not the great Abraham Lincoln strive for his Nation's [illegible] through a civil war?

Partition with violence. But yielding to the bully—is it real non-violence? Answering this question, I wrote on 22-5-1947: "This yielding to the bully seems to be due to a panicky frustration, consequent upon the deplorable disturbances in the different parts of the country. The cure for such blood-spilling, however, is not an object surrender to the goonda. The real remedy for the present situation......lies in conscripting the youth of the race for the defence of the Raj-to-come. Given a million men for an Indian Republican Army,......the present disturbances can be put down inside of a month. The British troops are to retire soon, and must be pensioned off. But what should take their place, for protecting our hearths and homes, our honour, lives and properties? Obviously, it can be but a new Army,—a Republican Army—for which the lakhs of our demobbed soldiers, with their training, discipline and experience, can alone provide a nucleus. And to enlist their support now for our Indian Unity and Freedom can be the only go in our present plight. On the other hand, to give up the *Raj* itself, either wholly or in part, for fear of disturbances, will be neither violence nor non-violence, but an *Arjuna Vishaada Yogam* or confused ethicism pure and simple, so gloriously condemned by the divine Author of the 'Gita' on the Kurukshetra battlefield."

24. INDIAN INDEPENDENCE BILL (1947)

[*A Bill to make provision for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions, to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, which apply outside those Dominions, and to provide for other matters consequential on or connected with the setting up of those Dominions*]

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows —

1. The new Dominions :—(1) As from the fifteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India, to be known respectively as India and Pakistan.

(2) The said Dominions are hereafter in this Act referred to as "the new Dominions", and the said fifteenth day of August is hereafter in this Act referred to as "the appointed day".

2. Territories of the new Dominions.—(1) Subject to the provisions of sub-sections (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of India shall be the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty which, immediately before the appointed day, were included in British India except the territories which, under sub-section (2) of this section, are to be the territories of Pakistan.

(2) Subject to the provisions of sub-sections 3) and (4) of this section, the territories of Pakistan shall be—

(a) the territories which, on the appointed day, are included in the Provinces of East Bengal and West Punjab, as constituted under the two following sections;

(b) the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in the Province of Sind and the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan; and

(c) if, whether before or after the passing of this Act but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the North-West Frontier Province are in favour of representatives of that Province taking part in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in that Province.

(3) Nothing in this section shall prevent any area being at any time included in or excluded from either of the new Dominions, so, however, that—

(a) no area not forming part of the territories specified in sub-section (1) or, as the case may be, sub-section (2) of this section shall be included in either Dominion without the consent of that Dominion; and

(b) *no area which forms part of the territories specified in* the said sub-section (1) or, as the case may be, the said sub-section (2), or which has after the appointed day been included in either Dominion, shall be excluded from that Dominion without the consent of that Dominion.

(4) Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of sub-section (3) of this section, nothing in this section shall be construed as preventing the accession of Indian States to either of the new Dominions.

3. Bengal and Assam.—(1) As from the appointed day—

(a) the Province of Bengal, as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and

(b) there shall be constituted in lieu thereof two new Provinces, to be known respectively as East Bengal and West Bengal.

(2) If, whether before or after the passing of this Act, but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the

date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the District of Sylhet are in favour of that District forming part of the new Province of East Bengal, then, as from that day, a part of the Province of Assam shall, in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (3) of this section, form part of the new Province of East Bengal.

(3) The boundaries of the new Provinces aforesaid and, in the event mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, the boundaries after the appointed day of the Province of Assam, shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by awards of boundary commissions appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-general in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined—

(a) the Bengal Districts specified in the First Schedule to this Act, together with, in the event mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, the Assam District of Sylhet, shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Bengal;

(b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of Bengal shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of West Bengal; and

(c) in the event mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, the district of Sylhet shall be excluded from the Province of Assam.

4 **The Punjab.**—(1) As from the appointed day—

(a) the Province of the Punjab, as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and

(b) there shall be constituted two new Provinces, to be known respectively as West Punjab and East Punjab

(2) The boundaries of the said new Provinces shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day by awards of boundary commissions appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined—

(a) the Districts specified in the Second Schedule to this Act shall be treated as the territories to be comprised in the new Province of West Punjab; and

(b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of the Punjab shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Punjab.

5. **The Governor-General of the new Dominions.**—For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by His Majesty and shall represent His Majesty for the purposes of the government of the Dominion.

Provided that, unless and until provision to the contrary is made by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions.

6. **Legislation for the new Dominions.**—(1) The Legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, including laws having extra-territorial operation.

(2) No law and no provision of any law made by the Legislature of either of the new Dominions shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England, or to the provisions of this or any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Legislature of each Dominion include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion.

(3) The Governor-General of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to assent in His Majesty's name to any law of the Legislature of that Dominion and so much of any Act as relates to the dis-allowance of laws by His Majesty or the reservation of laws for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon or the suspension of the operation of laws until the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon shall not apply to laws of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions.

(4) No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed on or after the appointed day shall extend, or be deemed to extend to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion.

(5) No Order in Council made on or after the appointed day under any Act passed before the appointed day, and no order, rule or other instrument made on or after the appointed day under any such Act by any United Kingdom Minister or other authority, shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion

(6) The power referred to in sub-section (1) of this section extends to the making of laws limiting for the future the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion

7. Consequences of the setting up of the new Dominions.—(1) As from the appointed day—

(a) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have no responsibility as respects the government of any of the territories which, immediately before that day, were included in British India;

(b) the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or the rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise; and

(c) there lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas, any obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction

exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise.

Provided that, notwithstanding anything in paragraph (b) or paragraph (c) of this sub-section, effect shall, as nearly as may be continued to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by the ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the tribal areas on the one hand, or by the Dominion or Province or other part thereof concerned on the other hand, or are superseded by subsequent agreements.

(2) The assent of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is hereby given to the omission from the Royal Style and Titles of the words "Indiae Imperator" and the words "Emperor of India" and to the issue by His Majesty for that purpose of His Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the Realm.

8. **Temporary provision as to government of each of the new Dominions.**—(1) In the case of each of the new Dominions, the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion shall, for the purpose of making provision as to the constitution of the Dominion, be exercisable in the first instance by the Constituent Assembly of that Dominion, and references in this Act to the Legislature of the Dominion shall be construed accordingly.

(2) Except in so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion under sub-section (1) of this section, each of the new Dominions and all Provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935; and the provisions of that Act, and of the Orders in Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder, shall, so far as applicable, and subject to any *express provisions of this* Act, and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General under the next succeeding section, have effect accordingly.

Provided that—

(a) the said provisions shall apply separately in relation to each of the new Dominions and nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing on or after the appointed day any Central Government or Legislature common to both the new Dominions;

(b) nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing in force on or after the appointed day any form of control by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom over the affairs of the new Dominions or of any Province or other part thereof;

(c) so much of the said provisions as requires the Governor-General or any Governor to act in his discretion or exercise his individual judgment as respects any matter shall cease to have effect as from the appointed day;

(d) as from the appointed day, no Provincial Bill shall be reserved under the Government of India Act, 1935, for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, and no Provincial Act shall be disallowed by His Majesty thereunder; and

(e) the powers of the Federal Legislature or Indian Legislature under that Act, as in force in relation to each Dominion, shall, in the first instance, be exercisable by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion, in addition to the powers exercisable by that Assembly under sub-section (1) of this section.

(3) Any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, which, as applied to either of the new Dominions by sub-section (2) of this section and the orders therein referred to, operates to limit the power of the legislature of that Dominion shall, unless and until other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (1) of this section, have the like effect as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion limiting for the future powers of the Legislature.

9. Orders for bringing this Act into Force:—(1) The Governor-General shall by order make such provision as appears to him to be necessary or expedient—

(a) for bringing the provisions of this Act into effective operation;

(b) for dividing between the new Dominions, and between the new Provinces, to be constituted under this Act the powers, rights, property, duties and liabilities of the Governor-General in Council or, as the case may be, of the relevant Provinces which, under this Act, are to cease to exist;

(c) for making *omissions from, additions to, and adaptations* and *modifications of, the Government of India Act, 1935*, and the Orders in Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder, in their application to the separate new Dominions;

(d) for removing difficulties arising in connection with the transition to the provisions of this Act;

(e) for authorizing the carrying on of the business of the Governor-General in Council between the passing of this Act and the appointed day otherwise than in accordance with the provisions in that behalf of the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, *1935*;

(f) for enabling agreements to be entered into, and other acts done, on behalf of either of the new Dominions before the appointed day;

(g) for authorising the continued carrying on for the time being on behalf of the new Dominions, or on behalf of any two or more of the said new Provinces, of services and activities previously carried on on behalf of British India as a whole or on behalf of the former Provinces which those new Provinces represent;

(h) for regulating the monetary system and any matters pertaining to the Reserve Bank of India; and

(i) so far as it appears necessary or expedient in connection with any of the matters aforesaid, for varying the constitution, powers or jurisdiction of any legislature,

court or other authority in the new Dominions and *creating new legislatures, courts or other authorities therein.*

(2) The powers conferred by this section on the Governor-General shall, in relation to their respective Provinces, be exercisable also by the Governors of the Provinces which, under this Act, are to cease to exist, and those powers shall, for the purposes of the Government of India Act, 1935, be deemed to be matters as respects which the Governors are, under that Act, to exercise their individual judgment.

(3) This section shall be deemed to have had effect as from the third day of June, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, and any order of the Governor-General or any Governor made on or after that date as to any matter shall have effect accordingly, and any order made under this section may be made so as to be retrospective to any date not earlier than the said third day of June

Provided that no person shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence by reason of so much of any such order as makes any Provision thereof retrospective to any date before the making thereof.

(4) Any orders made under this section, whether before or after the appointed day, shall have effect—

(a) up to the appointed day, in British India;

(b) on and after the appointed day, in the new Dominion or Dominions concerned; and

(c) outside British India, or as the case may be, outside the new Dominion or Dominions concerned, to such extent, whether before, on or after the appointed day, as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned would have on or after the appointed day,

but shall, in the case of each of the Dominions, be subject to the same powers of repeal and amendment as laws of the Legislature of that Dominion.

(5) No order shall be made under this section, by the Governor of any Province, after the appointed day, or, by the Governor-

General, after the thirty-first day of March, nineteen hundred and forty-eight, or such earlier date as may be determined, in the case of either Dominion, by any law of the Legislature of that Dominion.

(6) If it appears that a part of the Province of Assam is, on the appointed day, to become part of the new Province of East Bengal, the preceding provisions of this section shall have effect as if, under this Act, the Province of Assam was to cease to exist on the appointed day and be reconstituted on that day as a new Province.

10. **Secretary of State's services, etc** :—(1) The provisions of this Act keeping in force provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, shall not continue in force the provisions of that Act relating to appointments to the civil services of, and civil posts under the Crown in India by the Secretary of State, or the provisions of that Act relating to the reservation of posts.

(2) Every person who—

(a) having been appointed by the Secretary of State, or Secretary of State in Council, to a civil service of the Crown in India continues on and after the appointed day to serve under the Government of either of the new Dominions or of any Province or part thereof; or

(b) having been appointed by His Majesty before the appointed day to be a Judge of the Federal Court or of any Court which is a High Court within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935, continues on and after the appointed day to serve as a judge in either of the new Dominions, shall be entitled to receive from the Governments of the Dominions and Provinces or parts which he is from time to time serving or, as the case may be, which are served by the courts in which he is from time to time a judge, the same conditions of service as respects remuneration, leave and pension, and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters or, as the case may be, as respects the tenure of his office, or rights as similar thereto as changed circumstances may permit, as that person was entitled to immediately before the appointed day.

(3) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as enabling the rights and liabilities of any person with respect to the family pension funds vested in Commissioners under section two-hundred and seventy-three of the Government of India Act, 1935, to be governed otherwise than by Orders in Council made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by His Majesty in Council and rules made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by a Secretary of State or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in that behalf by Order in Council under the Ministers of the *Crown* (Transfer of Functions) Act, 1946.

11. **Indian armed forces** —(1) The orders to be made by the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall make provision for the division of the Indian armed forces of His Majesty between the new Dominions, and for the command and governance of those forces until the division is completed.

(2) As from the appointed day, while any member of His Majesty's forces, other than His Majesty's Indian forces, is attached to or serving with any of His Majesty's Indian forces—

(a) he shall, subject to any provision to the contrary made by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned or by any order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act, have, in relation to the Indian forces in question, the powers of command and punishment appropriate to his rank and functions; but

(b) nothing in any enactment in force at the date of the passing of this Act shall render him subject in any way to the law governing the Indian forces in question.

12. **British forces in India** :—(1) Nothing in this Act affects the jurisdiction or authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, or of the Admiralty, the Army Council, or the Air Council or of any other United Kingdom authority, in relation to any of His Majesty's forces which may, on or after the appointed day, be in either of the new Dominions or elsewhere in the territories which, before the appointed day, were included in India, not being Indian forces.

(2) In its application in relation to His Majesty's military forces, other than Indian forces, the Army Act shall have effect on or after the appointed day—

(a) as if His Majesty's Indian forces were not included in the expressions "the forces", "His Majesty's forces" and "the regular forces"; and

(b) *subject to the further modifications* specified in Parts I and II of the Third Schedule to this Act.

(3) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (2) of this section, and to any provisions of any law of the Legislature of the Dominion concerned, all civil authorities in the new Dominions, and, subject as aforesaid and subject also to the provisions of the last preceding section, all service authorities in the new Dominions, shall, in those Dominions and in the other territories which were included in India before the appointed day, perform in relation to His Majesty's military forces, not being Indian forces, the same functions as were, before the appointed day, performed by them, or by the authorities corresponding to them, whether by virtue of the Army Act or otherwise, and the matters for which provision is to be made by orders of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall include the facilitating of the withdrawal from the new Dominions and other territories aforesaid of His Majesty's military forces, not being Indian forces.

(4) The provisions of sub-sections (2) and (3) of this section shall apply in relation to the air forces of His Majesty, not being Indian air forces, as they apply in relation to His Majesty's military forces, subject, however, to the necessary adaptations, and, in particular, as if—

(a) for the references to the Army Act there were substituted references to the Air Force Act; and

(b) for the reference to Part II of the Third Schedule to this Act there were substituted a reference to Part III of that Schedule.

13. Naval Forces:—(1) In the application of the Naval Discipline Act to His Majesty's Naval Forces, other than Indian Naval Forces, references to His Majesty's navy and His Majesty's

ships shall not, as from the appointed day, include references to His Majesty's Indian navy or the ships thereof

(2) In the application of the Naval Discipline Act by virtue of any law made in India before the appointed day to Indian naval forces, references to His Majesty's navy and His Majesty's ships shall, as from the appointed day, be deemed to be, and to be only, references to His Majesty's Indian navy and the ships thereof

(3) In section ninety B of the Naval Discipline Act (which, in certain cases, subjects officers and men of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines to the law and customs of the ships and naval forces of other parts of His Majesty's dominions) the words "or of India" shall be repealed as from the appointed day, wherever those words occur

14. **Provisions as to the Secretary of State and the Auditor of Indian Home Accounts**:—(1) A Secretary of State, or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in that behalf by Order in Council under the Ministers of the Crown (Transfer of Functions) Act, 1946, is hereby authorised to continue for the time being the performance, on behalf of whatever government or governments may be concerned, of functions as to the making of payments and other matters similar to the functions which, up to the appointed day, the Secretary of State was performing on behalf of governments constituted or continued under the Government of India Act, 1935.

(2) The functions referred to in sub-section (1) of this section include functions as respects the management of, and the making of payments in respect of, government debt, and any enactments relating to such debt shall have effect accordingly.

Provided that nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing in force so much of any enactment as empowers the Secretary of State to contract sterling loans on behalf of any such Government as aforesaid or as applying to the Government of either of the new Dominions the prohibition imposed on the Governor-General in Council by section three hundred and fifteen of the Government of India Act, 1935, as respects the contracting of sterling loans.

(3) As from the appointed day, there shall not be any such advisers of the Secretary of State as are provided for by section two hundred and seventy-eight of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that section, and any provisions of that Act which require the Secretary of State to obtain the concurrence of his advisers, are hereby repealed as from that day.

(4) The Auditor of Indian Home Accounts is hereby authorised to continue for the time being to exercise his functions as respects the accounts of the Secretary of State or any such other Minister of the Crown as is mentioned in sub-section (1) of this section, both in respect of activities before, and in respect of activities after, the appointed day, in the same manner, as nearly as may be as he would have done if this Act had not passed.

15. **Legal proceedings by and against the Secretary of State** :—*(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, and in particular, notwithstanding any of the provisions of the last preceding section, any provision of any enactment which, but for the passing of this Act, would authorise legal proceedings to be taken, in India or elsewhere, by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India or any part of India shall cease to have effect on the appointed day, and any legal proceedings pending by virtue of any such provision on the appointed day shall, by virtue of this Act, abate on the appointed day, so far as the Secretary of State is concerned.*

(2) Subject to the provisions of this sub-section, any legal proceedings which, but for the passing of this act, could have been brought by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India, or any part of India, shall instead be brought—

(a) in the case of proceedings in the United Kingdom, by or against the High Commissioner;

(b) in the case of other proceedings, by or against such person as may be designated by order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act or otherwise by the law of the new Dominion concerned,

and any legal proceedings by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any such right or liability as aforesaid which are pend-

ing immediately before the appointed day shall be continued by or against the High Commissioner or, as the case may be, the person designated as aforesaid.

Provided that, at any time after the appointed day, the right conferred by this sub-section to bring or continue proceedings may, whether the proceedings are by, or are against, the High Commissioner or person designated as aforesaid, be withdrawn by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions so far as that Dominion is concerned, and any such law may operate as respects proceedings pending at the date of the passing of the law.

(3) In this section, the expression "the High Commissioner" means, in relation to each of the new Dominions, any such officer as may for the time being be authorised to perform in the United Kingdom, in relation to that Dominion, functions similar to those performed before the appointed day, in relation to the Governor-General in Council, by the High Commissioner referred to in section three hundred and two of the Government of India Act, 1935; and any legal proceedings which, immediately before the appointed day, are the subject of an appeal to His Majesty in Council, or of a petition for special leave to appeal to His Majesty in Council, shall be treated for the purposes of this section as legal proceedings pending in the United Kingdom

16. Aden:—(1) Sub-sections (2) to (4) of section two hundred and eighty-eight of the Government of India Act, 1935 (which confer on His Majesty power to make by Order in Council provision for the government of Aden) shall cease to have effect and the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945, (which authorise His Majesty to make laws and establish institutions for British Settlements as defined in those Acts) shall apply in relation to Aden as if it were a British Settlement as so defined.

(2) Notwithstanding the repeal of the said sub-sections (2) to (4), the Orders in Council in force thereunder at the date of the passing of this Act shall continue in force, but the said Order in Council, any other Orders in Council made under the Government of India Act, 1935, in so far as they apply to Aden, and any enactments applied to Aden or amended in relation to Aden by any such Orders in Council as aforesaid, may be repealed,

(3) As from the appointed day, there shall not be any such advisers of the Secretary of State as are provided for by section two hundred and seventy-eight of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that section, and any provisions of that Act which require the Secretary of State to obtain the concurrence of his advisers, are hereby repealed as from that day.

(4) The Auditor of Indian Home Accounts is hereby authorised to continue for the time being to exercise his functions as respects the accounts of the Secretary of State or any such other Minister of the Crown as is mentioned in sub-section (1) of this section, both in respect of activities before, and in respect of activities after, the appointed day, in the same manner, as nearly as may be as he would have done if this Act had not passed.

15. **Legal proceedings by and against the Secretary of State** :—(*1*) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, and in particular, notwithstanding any of the provisions of the last preceding section, any provision of any enactment which, but for the passing of this Act, would authorise legal proceedings to be taken, in India or elsewhere, by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India or any part of India shall cease to have effect on the appointed day, and any legal proceedings pending by virtue of any such provision on the appointed day shall, by virtue of this Act, abate on the appointed day, so far as the Secretary of State is concerned.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this sub-section, any legal proceedings which, but for the passing of this act, could have been brought by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India, or any part of India, shall instead be brought—

(a) in the case of proceedings in the United Kingdom, by or against the High Commissioner;

(b) in the case of other proceedings, by or against such person as may be designated by order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act or otherwise by the law of the new Dominion concerned,

and any legal proceedings by or agains[illegible] cretary of State in respect of any such right or liability a[illegible] which are pend-

ing immediately before the appointed day shall be continued by or against the High Commissioner or, as the case may be, the person designated as aforesaid:

Provided that, at any time after the appointed day, the right conferred by this sub-section to bring or continue proceedings may, whether the proceedings are by, or are against, the High Commissioner or person designated as aforesaid, be withdrawn by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions so far as that Dominion is concerned, and any such law may operate as respects proceedings pending at the date of the passing of the law.

(3) In this section, the expression "the High Commissioner" means, in relation to each of the new Dominions, any such officer as may for the time being be authorised to perform in the United Kingdom, in relation to that Dominion, functions similar to those performed before the appointed day, in relation to the Governor-General in Council, by the High Commissioner referred to in section three hundred and two of the Government of India Act, 1935; and any legal proceedings which, immediately before the appointed day, are the subject of an appeal to His Majesty in Council, or of a petition for special leave to appeal to His Majesty in Council, shall be treated for the purposes of this section as legal proceedings pending in the United Kingdom.

16. Aden:—(1) Sub-sections (2) to (4) of section two hundred and eighty-eight of the Government of India Act, 1935 (which confer on His Majesty power to make by Order in Council provision for the government of Aden) shall cease to have effect and the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945, (which authorise His Majesty to make laws and establish institutions for British Settlements as defined in those Acts) shall apply in relation to Aden as if it were a British Settlement as so defined.

(2) Notwithstanding the repeal of the said sub-sections (2) to (4), the Orders in Council in force thereunder at the date of the passing of this Act shall continue in force, but the said Order in Council, any other Orders in Council made under the Government of India Act, 1935, in so far as they apply to Aden, and any enactments applied to Aden or amended in relation to Aden by any such Orders in Council as aforesaid, may be repealed,

(4) Nothing in this section affects any court outside the new Dominions, and the power conferred by section two of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Act, 1926, to apply certain provisions of that Act to other parts of His Majesty's dominions as they apply to India shall be deemed to be power to apply those provisions as they would have applied to India if this Act had not passed

18. **Provisions as to existing laws, etc** —(1) In so far as any Act of Parliament, Order in Council, order, rule, regulation or other instrument passed or made before the appointed day operates otherwise than as part of the law of British India or the new Dominions, references therein to India or British India, however worded and whether by name or not, shall, in so far as the context permits and except so far as Parliament may hereafter otherwise provide, be construed as, or as including, references to the new Dominions, taken together, or taken separately, according as the circumstances and subject matter may require.

Provided that nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing in operation any provision in so far as the continuance thereof as adapted by this sub-section is inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Act other than this section.

(2) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (1) of this section and to any other express provision of this Act, the Orders in Council made under sub-section (5) of section three hundred and eleven of the Government of India Act, 1935, for adapting and modifying Acts of Parliament shall, except so far as Parliament may hereafter otherwise provide, continue in force in relation to all Acts in so far as they operate otherwise than as part of the law of British India or the new Dominions.

(3) Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Act, the law of British India and of the several parts thereof existing immediately before the appointed day shall, so far as applicable and with the necessary adaptations, continue as the law of each of the new Dominions and the several parts thereof until other provision is made by laws of the Legislature of the Dominion in question or by any other Legislature or other authority having power in that behalf.

(4) It is hereby declared that the Instruments of Instructions issued before the passing of this Act by His Majesty to the Governor-General and the Governors of Provinces lapse as from the appointed day, and nothing in this Act shall be construed as continuing in force any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, relating to such Instruments of Instructions.

(5) As from the appointed day, so much of any enactment as requires the approval of His Majesty in Council to any rules of court shall not apply to any court in either of the new Dominions.

19. **Interpretation, etc.** :—(1) References in this Act to the Governor-General shall, in relation to any order to be made or other act done on or after the appointed day, be construed—

(a) where the order or other act concerns one only of the new Dominions, as references to the Governor-General of that Dominion;

(b) where the order or other act concerns both of the new Dominions and the same person is the Governor-General of both those Dominions, as references to that person; and

(c) in any other case, as references to the Governors-General of the new Dominions, acting jointly.

(2) References in this Act to the Governor-General shall, in relation to any order to be made or other act done before the appointed day, be construed as references to the Governor-General of India within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935, and so much of that or any other Act as requires references to the Governor-General to be construed as references to the Governor-General in Council shall not apply to references to the Governor-General in this Act.

(3) References in this Act to the Constituent Assembly of a Dominion shall be construed as references—

(a) in relation to India, to the Constituent Assembly, the first sitting whereof was held on the ninth day of December, nineteen hundred and forty-six, modified—

(i) by the exclusion of the members representing Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and British Baluchistan; and

(ii) should it appear that the North-West Frontier Province will form part of Pakistan, by the exclusion of the members representing that Province; and

(iii) by the inclusion of members representing West Bengal and East Punjab; and

(iv) should it appear that, on the appointed day a part of the Province of Assam is to form part of the new Province of East Bengal by the exclusion of the members theretofore representing the Province of Assam and the inclusion of members chosen to represent the remainder of that Province.

(b) in relation to Pakistan, to the Assembly set up or about to be set up at the date of the passing of this Act under the authority of the Governor-General as the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan.

Provided that nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as affecting the extent to which representatives of the Indian States take part in either of the said Assemblies, or as preventing the filling of casual vacancies in the said Assemblies, or as preventing the participation in either of the said Assemblies in accordance with such arrangements as may be made in that behalf, of representatives of the [illegible] areas on the borders of the Dominion for which that Assembly sits, and the powers of the said Assemblies shall extend and be deemed always to have extended, to the making of provision for the matters specified in this proviso.

(4) In this Act, except [illegible] re-quires—

References to the Government of India Act [illegible] references to [illegible] menting that [illegible] particular [illegible] the India [illegible] 1946;

"India", when [illegible] before the [illegible] but for [illegible]

signed to it by section three hundred and eleven of the Government of India Act, 1935;

"Indian forces" includes all His Majesty's Indian forces existing before the appointed day and also any forces of either of the new Dominions;

"Pension" means, in relation to any person, a pension, whether contributory or not, of any kind whatsoever payable to or in respect of that person, and includes retired pay so payable, a gratuity so payable and any sum or sums so payable by way of the return, with or without interest thereon or other additions thereto, of subscriptions to a provident fund;

"Province" means a Governor's Province;

"remuneration" includes leave pay, allowances and the cost of any privileges or facilities provided in kind.

(5) Any power conferred by this Act to make any order includes power to revoke or vary any order previously made in the exercise of that power.

20. Short title :—This Act may be cited as the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

SCHEDULES

FIRST SCHEDULE

Section 3

BENGAL DISTRICTS PROVISIONALLY INCLUDED IN THE NEW PROVINCE OF EAST BENGAL

In the Chittagong Division, the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tippera.

In the Dacca Division, the districts of Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur and Mymensingh.

In the Presidency Division, the districts of Jessore, Murshidabad and Nadia.

In the Rajshahi Division, the districts of Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi and Rangpur.

SECOND SCHEDULE

Section 4

DISTRICTS PROVISIONALLY INCLUDED IN THE NEW PROVINCE OF WEST PUNJAB

In the Lahore Division, the districts of Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura and Sialkot

In the Rawalpindi Division, the districts of Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi and Shahpur.

In the Multan Division, the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan and Muzaffargarh

THIRD SCHEDULE

Section 12

MODIFICATIONS OF ARMY ACT AND AIR FORCE ACT IN RELATION TO BRITISH FORCES

(Omitted)

FOURTH SCHEDULE

(Omitted)

25. SOME THOUGHTS ON THE BILL

I shall make but a few comments only on the above Bill which soon became an Act.

(1) The Bill itself comes to less than thirteen pages, with two more pages of schedules. It consists of 20 sections. For a subject of such magnitude, it must be said to be very brief in the annals of the British Parliament, even as the Government of India Act, 1935, was the bulkiest piece of legislation in British history.

(2) The time taken up for the enactment of this Bill was remarkably short—just about a week.

(3) The cost of the legislation was equally insignificant.

(4) For such a controversial subject as the giving up of the Indian Empire by Britain, it is remarkable as to how the Bill was passed in both Houses of the Parliament so smoothly, easily and quickly. It is a typical instance of the flexibility of the British Constitution.

(5) It is really hard to understand how even the Churchillian Toryism did not dissent to this legislation which was tantamount to nothing short of the liquidation of both the Empire and the Emperor for Britain. It will be noted that the Conservative Party in either House did not vote against the Bill.

(6) So far as Mr. Attlee was concerned, clearly, he acted as a good Christian—" Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you "—and a gentleman. But from a purely political viewpoint, how unpolitical and disastrous for his own country such self-abnegation was! For, look at the Britain of today! Barely a dozen years after her mightiest Victory in War—under a V-1 Prime Minister—where is she now? A third rate power? or fifth-rate?

One reason given by Mr. Attlee in the course of his speech during the debate seems to be that a Post-war period was always attended by Freedom-struggles in every country; there was widespread awakening throughout Asia; and if there was to be an outburst again in India, even the lives of the Europeans could not

be deemed as safe. There was probably some truth in this view. And the Centenary of 1857 was also soon to come. At the same time, was it not a panicky recipe—this fleeing away from an anticipated difficulty—instead of making a stand and handing over authority more gracefully and less wickedly? Probably he was hustled into it by Lord Mountbatten's inexperience and rashness Or they were afraid perhaps that India might drift into the Russian Bloc otherwise

(7) How did the King Emperor himself agree to the change from the IMPERATOR of India, to a mere King? Oh! for a Disraeli or Curzon or Churchill to advise him in the situation But perhaps it was his destiny, because did not Chiro predict, long before, that, during his reign, India would slip out of the Empire and break into two States—Buddhist and Muslim—and the future of England would become dimmed?

(8) And lastly, what became of all those solemn pledges of all the British monarchs and their long line of Viceroys and Secretaries of State, from Queen Victoria down to Lord Wavell, that they would not let down the Princes and all those loyal sections of our People in India generally? And was Section 7(1) a fitting reward to these Princes?

26. RADCLIFFE AWARD

(i): The Punjab

Before proceeding further, it will be necessary to record what is known as the Radcliffe Report. It will be recalled that clause 9 of the Mountbatten plan dated 3rd June, 1947, had envisaged the appointment of two Boundary Commissions for demarcating the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab and Bengal respectively. Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a legal luminary from England, was appointed Chairman of both the Commissions. Designating the work of these Commissions as "the greatest farce in History," Prof. Bali, in his book, "Now it can be told", thus writes:

"Can anybody cite any other example from history of a more cruel and gigantic fraud perpetrated on a credulous people than that of the Punjab Boundary Commission? For, in the first place, it was not a Commission at all. It was in reality a one man's show, and that one man did not even once visit the boundary or hear the arguments of the parties personally. To repeat a phrase that was popular in the days of the Rowlatt agitation, the arbitrator gave his Award without hearing any Vakil, Daleel or Appeal (no lawyers, no arguments, and no appeal)...... The Congress leaders had grievously erred in the first place by agreeing to one Boundary Commission for Bengal and the Punjab; secondly, accepting a one-man Commission instead of a three-man Commission; and thirdly, accepting a particularly obscure person, namely, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who was known neither for his legal eminence nor for his political impartiality nor for any special contribution to the public life of England. When the name was proposed, Pt. Jawharlal Nehru never made any inquiries about his antecedents. That Mr. Jinnah had readily agreed to the name should have caused some suspicion in the mind of Pt. Nehru. But probably it was too trivial a matter to engage his serious attention. A letter published in a daily paper of Delhi alleged that, years ago, he had worked as a junior counsel to Mr. Jinnah when he had set up his practice in London. This news was never contradicted. Their fourth blunder was in agreeing to waive the right of appeal against the Arbitrator's award to the British Govenment. Sir Cyril Radcliffe did not preside over any of the ten sittings of the Commission. Arrange-

ments had to be made to supply him with verbatim reports of the daily hearings. Members of the Commission were to report only in an advisory capacity; the last word rested with the Chairman."

The reports of Sir Cyril on both the Punjab and Bengal questions are given below; and let us read what Prof Bali has got to say of them. "Sir Cyril Radcliffe," says the distinguished Professor, "had merely drawn a blue pencil across the map and said that the West of the line belonged to Pakistan and East of the line to Hindusthan By doing so, he thought he had solved the problem Actually he created more problems than could be solved both for Pakistan and Hindusthan While he gave a well-defined Noth-west frontier to Pakistan, to India he merely gave a thin line across fields and pastures, to be later on delineated on the ground by mutual concord or quarrel. That such quarrels are a daily occurrence is proved by the stories of border raids, both along India's eastern and western frontiers There are disclosures of Pakistan's infiltration into Indian Union territory on the Assam—East Bengal border in violation of the mutually agreed boundary line in terms of the Award. In this connection, the disclosures made by a Calcutta Editor in a memorandum submitted to the West Bengal Government are startling indeed One of the disclosures made is that the Survey Department had misled Sir. C Radcliffe by supplying him with imaginary and false maps which did not fit in with geographical facts It is also alleged that the map which was relied upon by Cyril Radcliffe was a different one from those given to the Hindu members of the Commission and these, in their turn, materially differed from the maps supplied to the Muslim members. If true, this just revives the memories of what Lord Clive did in his dealings with Raja Umachand. The history has repeated itself, but at what a terrible cost to the Hindus of Bengal!"

And now to the actual reports of the Commission:

(1) Division of Punjab between India and Pakistan.

"1. I have the honour to present the decision and award of the Punjab Boundary Commission, which, by virtue of section 4 of the Indian Independence Act. 1947 [illegible] by my decision as Chairman of that C[illegible]

"2. The Punjab Boundary Commission was constituted by the announcement of the Governor-General dated June 30, 1947, Reference No. D. 50-7-47R. The members of the Commission thereby appointed were:

Mr. Justice Din Muhammad,
Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir,
Mr. Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan, and
Mr. Justice Teja Singh.

I was subsequently appointed Chairman of the Commission.

"The terms of reference of the Commission, as set out in the announcement, were as follows:—

—'The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab, on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors.'

—We were desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible before August 15.

"4. After preliminary meetings, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by interested parties. Numerous memoranda and representations were received.

"5. The public sittings of the Commission took place at Lahore, and extended from Monday July, 21, 1947, to Thursday July 21, 1947, inclusive, with the exception of Sunday, July 27. The main arguments were conducted by counsel on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, but a number of other interested parties appeared and argued before the Commission. In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission, I did not attend the public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and of all material submitted for our consideration.

"6. After the close of the public sittings, the Commission adjourned to Simla, where I joined my colleagues and we entered upon discussions in the hope of being able to present an agreed decision as to the demarcation of the boundaries. I am greatly indebted to my colleagues for indispensable assistance in the clarification of the issues and the marshalling of the arguments

for different views, but it became evident in the course of our discussion that the divergence of opinion between my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained. I do not intend to convey by this that there were not large areas of the Punjab, on the west and on the east respectively, which provoked no controversy as to which State they should be assigned to; but when it came to the extensive but disputed areas in which the boundary must be drawn, differences of opinion as to the significance of the term 'othe factors' which we were directed by our terms of reference to take into account, and as to the weight and value to be attached to these factors, made it impossible to arrive at any agreed line. In those circumstances, my colleagues, at the close of our discussions, assented to the conclusion that I must proceed to give my own decision.

"7. This I now proceed to do. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure A to this award, and in the map attached thereto, Annexure B. The map is annexed for purposes of illustration and if there should be any divergence between the boundary, as described to Annexure A and as delineated on the map in Annexure B, the description in Annexure A is to prevail.

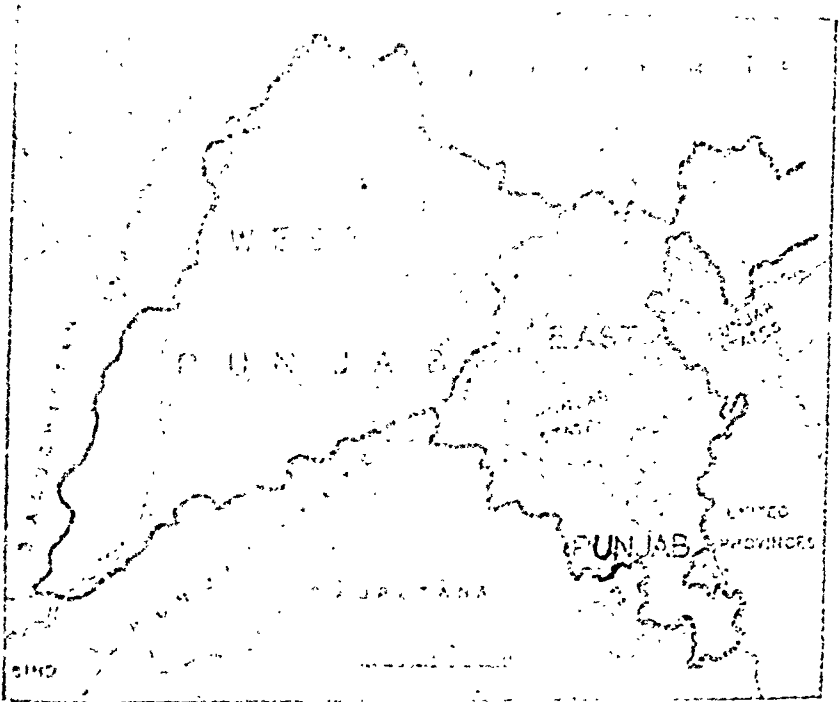
"8. Certain representations were addressed to the Commission on behalf of the States of Bikaner and Bahawalpur, both of which States were interested in canals whose headworks were situated in the Punjab province I have taken the view that an interest of this sort cannot weigh directly in the question before us as to the division of the Punjab between the Indian Union and Pakistan, since the territorial division of the province does not affect rights of private property, and I think that I am entitled to assume with confidence that any agreements that either of those States has made with the Provincial Government as to the sharing of water from these canals or otherwise will be respected by whatever Government hereafter assumes jurisdiction over the headworks concerned. I wish also to make plain that no decision that is made by this Commission is intended to affect whatever territorial claim the State of Bahawalpur may have in respect of a number of villages lying between Sulemanke Weir and Gurka Ferry

"9. The task of delimiting a boundary in the Punjab is a difficult one. The claims of the respective parties ranged over a wide field of territory, but in my judgment, the truly debatable ground in the end proved to lie in and around the area between the Beas and Sutlej rivers on the one hand, and the river Ravi on the other. The fixing of a boundary in this area was further complicated by the existence of canal systems, so vital to the life of the Punjab, but developed only under the conception of a single administration and of systems of road and rail communication, which have been planned in the same way. There was also the stubborn geographical fact of the respective situations of Lahore and Amritsar, and the claims to each or both of those cities which each side vigorously maintained. After weighing to the best of my ability such "other factors" as appeared to me relevant as affecting the fundamental basis of contiguous majority areas, I have come to the decision set out in the Schedule which thus becomes the award of the Commission. I am conscious that there are legitimate criticisms to be made of it as there are, I think, of any other line that might be chosen.

"10. I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas east of the Sutlej River and in the angle of the Beas and Sutlej Rivers in which Muslim majorities are found. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the territories of the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway communications and water systems that ought, in this instance, to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities. But I must call attention to the fact that the Dipalpur Canal, which serves areas in the West Punjab, takes off from the Ferozepore Headworks, and I find it difficult to envisage a satisfactory demarcation of boundary at this point that is not accompanied by some arrangement for joint control of the intake of the different canals dependent on these headworks.

"11. I have not found it possible to preserve undivided the irrigation system of the Upper Bari Doab Canal, which extends from Madhopur in the Pathankot Tehsil to the western border of the district of Lahore, although I have made small adjustments of the Lahore-Amritsar district boundary to mitigate some of the

Annexure B



Radcliffe Award: The Punjab.

consequences of this severance; nor can I see any means of preserving under one territorial jurisdiction the Mandi Hydro-electric scheme which supplies power in the district of Kangra, Gurudaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Jullunder, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Sheikhupura and Lyallpur. I think it only right to express the hope that, where the drawing of a boundary line cannot avoid disrupting such unitary services as canal irrigation, railways and electric power transmission, a solution may be found by agreement between the two States for some joint control of what has hitherto been a valuable common service.

"12. I am conscious too that the award cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side but directly in conflict as to their bearing on the placing of the boundary. If means are to be found to gratify to the full those sentiments and aspirations, I think that they must be found in political arrangements with which I am not concerned and not in the decision of a boundary line drawn under the terms of reference of this Commission."

Annexure A

1. The boundary between the East and West Punjab shall commence on the north at the point where the west branch of the Ujh river enters the Punjab Province from the State of Kashmir. The boundary shall follow the line of that river down the western boundary of the Pathankot Tehsil to the point where the Pathankot, Shakargarh and Gurdaspur tehsils meet. The tehsil boundary and not the actual course of the Ujh river shall constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

2. From the point of meeting of the three tehsils above mentioned, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall follow the line of the Ujh river to its junction with the river Ravi and thereafter the line of the river Ravi along the boundary between the tehsils of Gurdaspur and Shakargarh, the boundary between the tehsils of Batala and Shakargarh, the boundary between the tehsils of Batala and Narowal, the boundary between the tehsils of Ajnala and the Narowal, and the boundary between the tehsils of Ajnala and Shahdara to the point on the river Ravi where the district of Amritsar is joined by the district of Lahore. The tehsils, boundaries ...

not the actual course of the river Ujh or the river Ravi shall constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

3. From the point on the river Ravi where the district of Amritsar is divided from the District of Lahore, the boundary between the East and West Punjab shall turn southwards following the boundary between the tehsils of Ajnala and Lahore and then the tehsils of Tarn Taran and Lahore, to the point where the tehsils of Kasur, Lahore and Tarn Taran meet. The line will then turn south-westward along the boundary between the tehsils of Lahore and Kasur to the point where that boundary meets the north-east corner of village Theh Jharolian. It will then run along the eastern boundary of that village to the junction with village Chathlanwala, turn along the northern boundary of that village, and then run down its eastern boundary to its junction with village Walgal. It will then run along the western boundary of village Walgal to its junction with village Kalia and then along the southern boundary of village Walgal to its junction with village Panhuwan. The line will then run down the eastern boundary of village Panhuwan to its junction with village Gaddoke. The line will then run down the eastern border of village Gaddoke to its junction with village Vurwala. It will then turn along the southern boundary of village Gaddoke to its junction with village Katluni Kalan. The line will then run down the eastern boundary of village Katluni Kalan to its junction with villages Kala and Mastgarh. It will then run along the southern boundary of village Katluni Kalan to the north-west corner of village Kala. It will then run along the western boundary of village Kala to its junction with village Khem Karan. The line will then run along the western and southern boundaries of village Khem Karan to its junction with village Maewala. It will then run down the western and southern boundaries of village Maewala, proceeding eastward along the boundaries between village Mahaidepur on the north and villages Sheikhupura, Kuhna, Kamalpuran, Fatehwala and Mahewala. The line will then turn northward along the western boundary of village Sahjra to its junction with villages Mahaidepur and Machhike. It will then turn north-eastward along the boundaries between villages Machhike and Sahjra and then proceed along the boundary between villages Rattoke and Sahjra to the

junction between villages Rattoke, Sahjra and Mabbuke. The line will then run north-east between the villages Rattoke and Mabbuke to the junction of villages Rattoke, Mabbuke and Gajjal. From that point the line will run along the boundary between villages Mabbuke and Gajjal, and then turn south along the eastern boundary of village Mabbuke to its junction with village Nagar Aimanpur It will then turn along the north-eastern boundary of village Nagar Aimanpur and run along its eastern boundary to its junction with village Masteke. From there it will run along the eastern boundary of village Masteke to where it meets the boundary between the tehsils of Kasur and Ferozepore.

4. The line will then run in a south-westerly direction down the Sutlej River on the boundary between the Districts of Lahore and Ferozepore to the point where the districts of Ferozepore, Lahore and Montgomery meet It will continue along the boundary between the districts of Ferozepore and Montgomery to the point where this boundary meets the border of Bahawalpur State The district boundaries and not the actual course of the Sutlej River shall, in each case, constitute the boundary between the East and West Punjab.

5. It is my intention that this boundary line should ensure that the canal headworks at Sulemanke will fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the West Punjab If the existing delimitation of the boundaries of Montgomery District does not ensure this, I award to the West Punjab so much of the territory concerned as covers the headworks, and the boundary shall be adjusted accordingly.

6. So much of the Punjab Province as lies to the West of the line demarcated in the preceding paragraph shall be the territory of the West Punjab. So much of the territory of the Punjab Province as lies to the east of that line shall be the territory of the East Punjab.

reconciliation on all main questions affecting the drawing of the boundary itself, my colleagues assented to the view at the close of our discussions that I had no alternative but to proceed to give my own decision.

"10. This I now proceed to do: but I should like at the same time to express my gratitude to my colleagues for their indispensable assistance in clarifying and discussing the difficult questions involved. The demarcation of the boundary line is described in detail in the schedule which forms Annexure "A" to this Award, and in the map attached thereto, Annexure "B". The map is annexed for purposes of illustration, and if there should be any divergence between the boundary as described in Annexure "A" and as delineated on the map in Annexure "B", the description in Annexure "A" is to prevail.

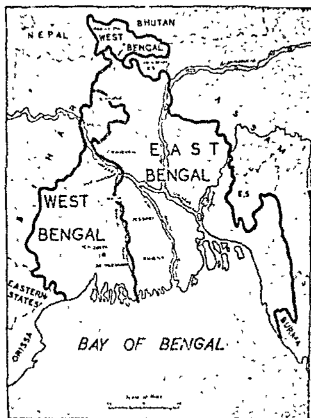
"11. I have done what I can in drawing the line to eliminate any avoidable cutting of railway communications and of river systems, which are of importance to the life of the province: but it is quite impossible to draw a boundary under our terms of reference without causing some interruption of this sort, and can only express the hope that arrangements can be made and maintained between the two States that will minimize the consequences of this interruption as far as possible."

"Annexure A"

1. A line shall be drawn along the boundary between the Thana of Phansidewa in the District of Darjeeling and the Thana Tetulia in the District of Jalpaiguri from the point where that boundary meets the Province of Bihar and then along the boundary between the Thanas of Tetulia and Rajganj; the Thanas of Pachagar and Rajgang, and the Thanas of Pachagar and Jalpaiguri, and shall then continue along the northern corner of the Thana Debiganj to the boundray of the State of Cooch-Behar. The District of Darjeeling and so much of the District of Jalpaiguri as lies north of this line shall belong to West Bengal, but the Thana of Patgram and any other portion of Jalpaiguri District which lies to the east or south shall belong to East Bengal.

2. A line shall then be drawn from the point where the boundary between the Thanas of Haripur and Raiganj in the

Annexure B



Radcliffe Award. Bengal.

District of Dinajpur meets the border of the Province of Bihar to the point where the boundary between the Districts of 24-Parganas and Khulna meets the Bay of Bengal This line shall follow the course indicated in the following paragraphs. So much of the Province of Bengal as lies to the west of it shall belong to West Bengal. Subject to what has been provided in paragraph 1 above with regard to the Districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, the remainder of the Province of Bengal shall belong to East Bengal.

3. The line shall run along the boundary between the following Thanas Haripur and Raiganj; Haripur and Hemtabad: Ranisankai and Hemtabad; Pirganj and Hemtabad; Pirganj and Kaliganj; Bochaganj and Kalingaj; Biral and Kaliganj; Biral and Kushmundi; Biral and Gangarampur; Dinajpur and Gangarampur; Dinajpur and Kumarganj, Chirirbandar and Kumarganj; Phulbari and Kumarganj; Phulbari and Balurghat It shall terminate at the point where the boundary between Phulbari and Balurghat meets the north-south line of the Bengal-Assam Railway in the eastern corner of the Thana of Balurghat The line shall turn down the western edge of the railway lands belonging to that railway and follow that edge until it meets the boundary between the Thanas of Balurghat and Panchbibi.

4. From that point the line shall run along the boundary between the following Thanas: Balurghat and Panchbibi; Balurghat and Joypurhat; Balurghat and Dhamairhat; Japan and Dhamairhat; Tapan and Patnitala; Tapan and Porsha; Bamangola and Porsha; Habibpur and Porsha; Habibpur and Gomastapur; Habibpur and Bholahat; Malda and Bholahat; English Bazar and Bholahat; English Bazar and Shibganj; Kaliachak and Shibganj; to the point where the boundary between the two last-mentioned Thanas meets the boundary between the districts of Malda and Murshidabad on the River Ganges.

5. The line shall then turn south-east down the River Ganges along the boundary between the Districts of Malda and Murshidabad; Rajshahi and the point in the north-western corner of the District of Nadia where the Channel of the River Mathabanga takes off from the River Ganges. The district boundaries, and not the actual course of the River Ganges shall constitute the boundary between East and W

6. From the point on the River Ganges where the channel of the River Mathabanga takes off, the line shall run along that channel to the northern-most point where it meets the boundary between the Thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur. The middle line of the main channel shall constitute the actual boundary.

7. From this point the boundary between East and West Bengal shall run along the boundaries between the Thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur; Gangani and Karimpur; Meherpur and Karimpur; Meherpur and Tehatta; Meherpur and Chapra; Damurhuda and Chapra; Damurhuda and Krishnaganj; Chuadanga and Krishnaganj; Jibannagar and Krishnaganj; Jibannagar and Hanskhali: Maheshpur and Hanskhali; Maheshpur and Ranaghat; Maheshpur and Bongaon; Jhikargacha and Bongaon; Sarsa and Gaighata; Gaighata and Kalaroa; to the point where the boundary between those Thanas meets the boundary between the districts of Khulna and 24-Parganas.

8. The line shall then run southwards along the boundary between the Districts of Khulna and 24 Parganas, to the point where that boundary meets the Bay of Bengal.

(iii): Report On Sylhet

Sir Cyril Radcliffe, in his report to the Governor-General on Sylhet, says:

"3. After the conclusion of the proceedings relating to Bengal, the Commission invited the submission of memoranda and representations by parties interested in the Sylhet question. A number of such memoranda and representations was received.

"4. The Commission held open sittings at Calcutta on August 4, 5 and 6, 1947, for the purpose of hearing arguments. The main arguments were conducted on the one side by counsel on behalf of the Government of East Bengal and the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues; and on the other side, by counsel on behalf of the Government of the Province of Assam and the Assam Provincial Congress Committee and the Assam Provincial Hindu Mahasabha. I was not present in person at the open sittings as I was at the time engaged in the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission which were taking place simulta-

neously, but I was supplied with the daily record of the Sylhet proceedings and with all material submitted for the Commission's consideration. At the close of the open sittings, the members of the Commission entered into discussions with me as to the issues involved and the decisions to be come to. These discussions took place at New Delhi

"5. There was an initial difference of opinion as to the scope of the reference entrusted to the Commission Two of my colleagues took the view that the Commission had been given authority to detach from Assam and to attach to East Bengal any Muslim majority areas of any part of Assam that could be described as contiguous to East Bengal, since they construed the words "the adjoining districts of Assam" as meaning any districts of Assam that adjoined East Bengal The other two of my colleagues took the view that the Commission's power of detaching areas from Assam and transferring them to East Bengal was limited to the District of Sylhet and contiguous Muslim majority areas (if any) of other districts of Assam that adjoined Sylhet. The difference of opinion was referred to me for my casting vote, and I took the view that the more limited construction of our terms of reference was the correct one and that the "adjoining districts of Assam" did not extend to other districts of Assam than those that adjoined Sylhet. The Commission accordingly proceeded with its work on this basis.

"6. It was argued before the Commission on behalf of the Government of East Bengal that, on the true construction of our terms of reference and Section 3 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the whole of the District of Sylhet at least must be transferred to East Bengal and the Commission had no option but to act upon this assumption All my colleagues agreed in rejecting this argument, and I concur in their view.

"7. We found some difficulty in making up our minds whether, under our terms of reference, we were to approach the Sylhet question in the same way as the question of partitioning Bengal, since there were some differences in the language employed. But all my colleagues came to the conclusion that we were intended to divide the Sylhet and adjoining districts of Assam between East Bengal and the Province of Assam on the

basis of contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims but taking into account other factors. I am glad to adopt this view.

"8. The members of the Commission were however unable to arrive at an agreed view as to how the boundary lines should be drawn, and after discussion of their differences, they invited me to give my decision. This I now proceed to do.

"9. In my view, the question is limited to the districts of Sylhet and Cachar, since the other districts of Assam that can be said to adjoin Sylhet, neither the Garo Hills nor the Khasi and Jaintia Hills nor the Lushai Hills have anything approaching a Muslim majority of population in respect of which a claim could be made.

"10. Out of 25 Thanas in Sylhet, 8 have non-Muslim majorities; but of these eight, two—Sulla and Ajmiriganj (which is in any event divided almost evenly between Muslims and non-Muslims) are entirely surrounded by preponderatingly Muslim areas, and must therefore go with them to East Bengal. The other six Thanas comprising a population of over 5,30,000 people stretch in a continuous line along part of the southern border of Sylhet District. They are divided between two sub-divisions, of which one, South Sylhet, comprising a population of over 5,15,000 people, has in fact a non-Muslim majority of some 40,000; while the other, Karimganj, with a population of over 5,68,000 people, has Muslim majority that is a little larger.

"11. With regard to the District of Cachar, one Thana, Hailakandi, has a Muslim majority and is contiguous to the Muslim Thanas of Badarpur and Karimganj in the District of Sylhet. This Thana forms, with the Thana of Katlichara immediately to its south, the sub-division of Hailakandi, and in the sub-division as a whole, Muslims enjoy a very small majority, being 51 per cent of the total population. I think that the dependence of Katlichara on Hailakandi for normal communications makes it important that the area should be under one jurisdiction, and that the Muslims would have at any rate a strong presumptive claim for the transfer of the sub-division of Hailakandi, comprising a population of 1,66,536 from the Province of Assam to the Province of East Bengal.

"12. But a study of the map shows, in my judgment, that a division on these lines would present problems of administration that might gravely affect the future welfare and happiness of the whole District Not only would the six non-Muslim Thanas of Sylhet be completely divorced from the rest of Assam if the Muslim claim to Hailakandi were recognised, but they form a strip running east and west, whereas the natural division of the land is north and south and they affect an awkward severance of the railway line through Sylhet, so that, for instance, the junction for the town of Sylhet itself, the capital of the district, would lie in Assam, not in East Bengal.

"13. In these circumstances, I think that some exchange of territories must be effected if a workable division is to result. Some of the non-Muslim Thanas must go to East Bengal and some Muslim territory and Hailakandi must be retained by Assam. Accordingly I decide and award as follows:—A line shall be drawn from the point where the boundary between the Thanas of Patharkandi and Kulaura meets the frontier of Tripura State and shall run north along the boundary between those Thanas, then along the boundary between the Thanas of Patharkandi and Barlekha, then along the boundary between the Thanas of Karimganj and Barlekha, and then along the boundary between the Thanas of Karimganj and Beani Bazar to the point where that boundary meets the River Kusiyara. The line shall then turn to the east taking the River Kusiyara as the boundary and run to the point where that river meets the boundary between the Districts of Sylhet and Cachar. The centre line of the main stream or channel shall constitute the boundary. So much of the District of Sylhet as lies to the west and north of this line shall be detached from the Province of Assam and transferred to the Province of East Bengal. [illegible] other part of the province of Assam shall be transferred. [illegible]

28. THE CHAKRA AVATAR

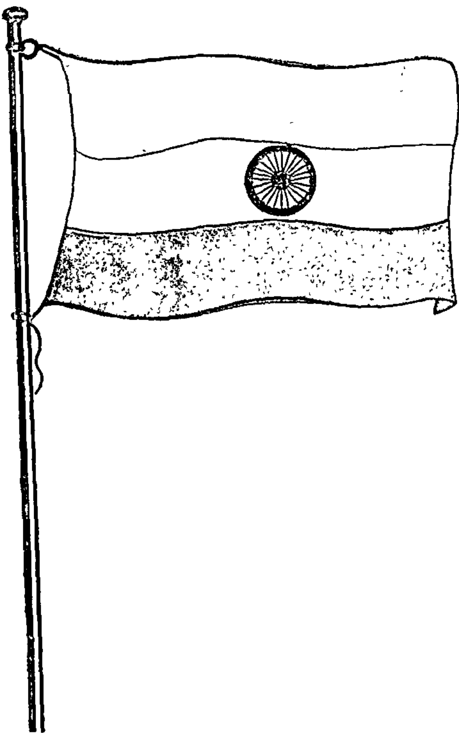
Having recorded the events that led to the Partition proposals and some opinions and comments thereon, we may now proceed to trace the rest of the story culminating in the actual implementation of the Plan and a few of the many incidents that followed. In this chapter, we shall first read about the new Flag which came into vogue in our country, as a sign of the new 'Dominion Independence', on the 15th August, 1947, which was a new Incarnation truly, after centuries of servitude—a CHAKRA AVATAR we may call it.

For the purpose of this narrative, it will be unnecessary to go into the whole history of our National Flag in India; but some outlines of the same may be jotted down here.

The first Flag of Indian Independence was unfurled in 1906, during the Vandemataram days, in the Parsee Bagan Square of Calcutta. It was a revolutionary attempt, being a tri-colour, of red, yellow and green. The red band at the top had eight white lotuses in a row; the words 'Vandemataram' in Devanagari were embossed in blue in the middle yellow band; and the green band at the bottom had the resplendent Sun on the left and the Crescent and a Star on the right.

The second Flag was hoisted by Madam Cama and a band of Indian patriots at Paris in 1907. This flag was similar to the first flag, except that the eight lotuses in the top were replaced by seven Stars. And it was exhibited also at a Socialist Conference held in Berlin next year.

When Dr. Annie Besant launched her Home Rule movement in 1917, she devised a new Flag for India, which had five red and four green horizontal stripes alternating with one another, with the Union Jack at the left-hand top corner, a Crescent and a Star a little to its right, and seven Stars across the stripes. It symbolised the demand for Self-government within the British Empire; and the Red and Green were meant to signify the Hindus and Mohammadans respectively. When Mahatma Gandhi took over charge of the Congress in 1921, he revived the Tri-colour and placed his favourite *Charkha* thereon. The white, green and red were his three colours, representing the minorities, the



Musalmans and the Hindus in order. Thus, writing in his 'Young India', Gandhiji wrote: "Numerically the weakest should occupy the first place, Islamic colour occupying the next, and the Hindu colour coming last, the idea being that the strongest should act as a shield to the weakest. The white colour moreover represents purity and peace. Our National Flag should mean that or nothing. But India as a nation can live and die only for the spinning wheel".* And from that time onwards, the Tri-colour and *Charkha* became the Congress ensign. But the red in this flag was replaced by the *Kesari* (red orchard) in 1932; the communal interpretation of the colours was given up; and a new significance—of the *Kesari* signifying courage and sacrifice; white standing for truth and peace; and green for faith and chivalry—came into vogue. The white band occupied the middle position in this Flag; and a blue *Charka* was imprinted thereon.

It will be interesting to recall that the idea of the *Chakra* instead of the *Charka* owed its origin primarily to the illustrious founder of the Goshthi, Sree Andhra Ratna D. Gopalakrishnayya. Thus, as early as 1920—21, the Andhra Ratna had devised two separate flags for his Goshthi and the Rama Dandu, both in crimson red, with a *Chakra* imprinted thereon. The latter, he explained, symbolised the *Vajra* made out of the bone of Dadhichi Maharshi, who, like the immortal Potti Sriramulu lately, gave his spinal cord for the sake of *Dharma*.

In the year 1925, when he was asked to hoist the National Flag at a Volunteer Conference, Gopalakrishnayya suggested that it might be the Rama Dandu Flag; but the Reception Committee insisted upon their having the Congress Flag alone, whereupon the Andhra Ratna excused himself and wrote thus:

"Of course, I am not attending that Palivela Conference; and I am glad. A few days back, I got a letter from the Secretary, Reception Committee, that they could not accept any suggestion until the All-India Congress acknowledges the Rama Dandu Flag! One should have thought or known this much, that a local variation is always admitted...I am not, of course, sorry,

*It was Lala Hansraj, of Jullundar (Punjab), it appears, who suggested that the spin-wheel should find a place on the Swaraj Flag. Vide the Government of India publication, "Our Flag".

and, on the other hand, am quite happy on my services being rejected that way. For one thing, I could avoid all physical worry and trouble. If it were 'Rama Seva', I could not have avoided it, my delicate health notwithstanding, but a programme of hoisting a mere spinners-weavers' flag happily helped me out of it.

"If the flag were to symbolise the Nation's Soul and its *Sadhana*," the Andhra Ratna continued, "both *Bhukthi* and *Mukthi* must be indicated, and with plenty of graceful and incessant movement. It must at least have some meaning. A Flag must have an abiding value and its design must be a work of art. A simple *Charka* may exhibit the sorrow of the stomach merely. It is puerile to think that it suffices to indicate the Nation's condition and concern. If Mahatma Gandhi also thinks so,...... *well, I shut up!*"*

Having received the idea from the Andhra Ratna, after his demise, I myself ransacked the Shastras to discover the divinity as well as the utility of this *Chakra*, and soon realised that it signified an Instrument for our *Ihapara Sadhana*—i. e., for our welfare both here and hereafter.

Thus, in the Maha Bharata, while the Fire-God Agni, gave the 'Sudarshana' or the Good-looking Wheel to Narayana, He says :—

> This *Chakra*,
> With its thousand petals,
> Which protects one against the Gods, demons and monsters,
> Yakshas, Pishachas and Serpents,
> And Shines ;
> This *Chakra*, Oh Madhusudana !
> Being released by thine hand,
> It kills its target
> And comes back unto thee,
> Because of the power of its divine Architect. (*Adi*—8.257.)

And from that time onwards "From *Charka* to the *Chakra*" became a *Mantra* of my efforts.

* Letter to G. V. S., d/26—5—1925.

Thus, in the 'Goshthi' of February 1936, I wrote: "The symbol of the *Chakra*, representing both an automatic Revolver and the divine Vishnu *Chakra*......is a happy harmony which we once more commend to our readers" In a foot-note, I added: "A *Chakra* is a round thing—a revolving thing, and that which revolves is a revolver; and it is automatic also, because when once it is released, it not only kills its target instantaneously, but comes back at once to its original position Vide the description of the Vishnu *Chakra* in the Gajendra Moksha story." (Vol II, p. 226).

On the eve of the Lucknow Congress, in March 1936, under the caption, "A Word to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru" (who was presiding over the session), I wrote. "Let us modify even the colours and the emblem of our Flag, to the crimson Red of our Indian *Shakthi* and the divine Vishnu *Chakra* which is the modern automatic Revolver" (Vol II, p. 270).

Regarding the colour of the Flag, I wrote "The National Flag in India for thousands and millions of years has always been the Red—indicative of Power or *Shakthi*; and *Shakthi* is Devata—and Devata wears the Red—Red *Thilaka*, Red Nail-paint, Red Foot-prints and Red *Kunkuma*. The Flag in the Sanatanist Rishikul in Hardwar is Red, the Flag in Jaipur in Rajputana is Red; and the Flags in Vizianagaram, Travancore, Mysore and for the Rama Dandu etc. are Red. And the Flags on our Hindu Temples and Mutts are more Red than Bhagwa." (Vol. II, p. 224.)

On 9—3—1946, I wrote to Gandhiji thus "I have been harping upon our Indian Militarization during the last twelve years. But you have been equally emphatically declaiming against it. You put the *Charka* on the Flag I suggested the *Chakra*—Vishnu *Chakra* and Automatic Revolver—*Ubhaya Thaaraka Chakra*. You have carried the day. But my voice of protest still remains. Nay, if I can trust myself, I believe, my voice is becoming the Voice of the Nation already."

On the eve of Independence, however, when the Constituent Assembly appointed an *ad hoc* Committee, for devising a new Flag for Free India, the Congress was in power everywhere; and

I felt myself humbled beyond measure. Yet, not losing heart, on 25—6—1947, I ventured to write to the Secretary of the Flag Committee as well as to Sree C. Rajagopalachariar and Srimathi Sarojini Devi, conveying my views and wishes.

In my letter to Mr. C. R., I wrote: "I know that my voice won't count today. But yet why not I write? I would now have a single colour—to achieve solidarity. The Muslims were all for one Green. No wonder if they stood together. And it must be the Red colour, of our *Rajasik* creation at this stage. The Sun may be there—must be there—as symbolic of our dynamic, eternal *Chakra* and the most visible God-on-earth for our people. *Ipso facto*, the *Charka* shall go."

In my letter to Srimathi Sarojini Naidu, I reminded her of her own verse in the 'Broken wing', in which she described the beauties of the Red colour thus:—

> "The Tilaka's red for the brow of a bride,
> And betel-nut's red for lips that are sweet,
> But for lily-like fingers and hands,
> The Red—the Red—of the henna-tree."

On 7th July, 1947, Veer V. D. Savarkar sent telegrams to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. N. B. Khare, suggesting that—

> "The Standard of Hindusthan must be Bhagwa—ochre-coloured... The *Charka* too must be replaced by a *Chakra*—wheel—or any other symbol signifying progress and strength".

It is not known exactly as to what transpired in the Flag Committee. But a prominent member of the Committee has explained:

> "The change from the *Charka* to the *Chakra* is only the transposition of one letter. That was how the change was explained at the time."

"Transposition of one letter!" How lightly these people take these changes in our vital symbolic life! Yet "friend and fiend"—"Amrit and Mrit"—"He and she"—"Eternal and External"—is it not but a single letter that varies in these terms? And yet, what a difference in sense they make!

. The Flag Committee seems to have decided originally in favour of retaining the Tri-colour, substituting, however, the Red in place of Kesari, as may be gleaned from the following Press report of July, 10, 1947.

"*New Delhi* :— Discussion among the members of the *ad hoc* Committee, appointed by the President of the Constituent Assembly to discuss and make recommendations on the question of a National Flag for India reached a large measure of agreement, it is learnt, on adopting the Congress Tri-colour as the National Flag of India with some modifications.

"The *ad hoc* Committee which met today is understood to have considered a number of suggestions from various quarters in this regard. Some members expressed themselves in favour of giving up the orange in favour of the red. It was pointed out that originally, when the Congress adopted the Tri-colour, it consisted of red, green and white colours, symbolising Indian Unity—red for the Hindus, green for Musalmans and white for the rest.

"The *Charka* superimposed on most of the Congress Flags is also likely to give place to a symbol more agreeable to Indian traditions and aspirations and *Chakra* (wheel) is stated to have been agreed upon.

"The Committee is meeting again on Saturday, when the final design is likely to be approved."

As a result of the final deliberations of the Committee, the following resolution was moved in the Constituent Assembly on July 22, 1947, by Pandit Nehru and adopted.

"Resolved that the National Flag of India shall be a horizontal tri-colour, of deep saffron, white and dark green in equal proportions. In the centre of the white band there shall be a wheel in navy blue, to represent the *Charka*. The design of the wheel shall be that of the wheel *(Chakra)* which appears on the abacus of the Saranath Lion Capital of Asoka.

"The diameter of the wheel shall be approximate to the width of the white band.

"The ratio of the width to the length of the Flag shall ordinarily be two breadths by three breadths."

In moving the above resolution, Pandit Nehru explained: "It will be seen that there is a slight variation from the one which many of us have used during the past years. The colours are the same......In the white, previously, there was the *Charka* which symbolised the common man in India, which symbolised the masses of the people, which symbolised their industry and

which came to us from the message which Mahatma Gandhi delivered. Now this particular *Charka* symbol has been slightly varied in this Flag, not taken away at all. Why has it been varied? Normally-speaking, the symbol on one side of the Flag should be exactly the same as on the other side. Otherwise, there is a difficulty which goes against the rules. Now the *Charka* as it appeared previously on the Flag had the wheel on one side and the spindle on the other. If you see the other side of the Flag, the spindle comes the other way; if it does not do so, it is not proportionate, because the wheel must be towards the pole, not towards the end of the Flag. There was this practical difficulty.

"Therefore, after considerable thought, we were convinced that the great symbol which enthused the people should continue, but that it should continue in a slightly different form, that the wheel should be there, and not the rest of the *Charka*—i. e., the spindle and the string which created this confusion. The essential part of the *Charka* should be there, that is the wheel. So, the old tradition continues in regard to the *Charka* and the wheel. But what type of wheel should we have? Our minds went back to many wheels which had appeared in many places and which all of us have seen, the one on the top of the Capital of the Asoka column and in many other places. The wheel is a symbol of India's ancient culture, it is a symbol of many things that India had stood for through the ages."

Other speakers in the Assembly referred to the new emblem, particularly Dr. Radhakrishnan, Srimathi Sarojini Naidu and Sri K. M. Munshi; and several of them referred to the Sudarshana and the *Dharma Chakra* also.

The Government of India, in their brochure entitled "Our Flag", have gone a step further and said: "Historians trace the wheel even further back than Asoka's time. It was an old symbol of Buddhism. In fact, some scholars take it back to Hinduism. It occurs in the pre-historic sites in the Indus Valley. It was the Solar symbol in Indian, Persian, early Egyptian, Assyrian and Greek religions. The wheel we have adopted on our National Standard today has been known and revered by India and other countries for over 5,000 years."

While some of our scholars have been thus endeavouring to provide a universal background for the new Flag in India, it will be observed that Mahatma Gandhi had struck a discordant note to the change. Thus, replying to a question on the new Flag, he declared:

> "I must say that, if the Flag of the Indian Union will not contain the emblem of the *Charka*, I will refuse to salute that Flag. You know, the National Flag of India was first thought of by me, and I cannot conceive of India's National Flag without the emblem of the *Charka*. We have, however, been told by Pandit Nehru and others that the sign of the wheel or *Chakra* in the new National Flag symbolises the *Charka* also. Some describe the wheel-mark as 'Sudarshan *Chakra*.' But I know what Sudarshan *Chakra* means." And it is well known that, during the five-and-half months of his life after Independence, Gandhiji did not honour the new Flag in any public manner.

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, the veteran historian and scholar, writing about the new Flag, says: "The term *Chakra* is a technical term in Pali literature It denotes dominion or circle of authority, whence the term *Chakra-varti* for the Emperor or the King of Kings. It does not denote the wheel Thus the term *Dharma Chakra* literally means the Dominion of *Dharma*, the Kingdom of Righteousness, the Rule of Right as against Might, *Dharma-Rajya* or *Rama-rajya*. It was left to Asoka to translate into the enduring form of stone, this primary teaching of the Buddha. Its fundamental truth of the superiority of the Spiritual to the Material, of the Moral to the Physical, of Soul to Sense, of Right to Might, Asoka's architect tried to express in terms of the visible and graphic by making four lions carry by the joint strength of their four shoulders the burden of a big Wheel which Mr. G. V. Subbarao has rescued from oblivion by his researches*. The idea of Asoka's architect was to present the lions as symbols of physical strength, of brute force or violence, but they are made to carry the burden of the Wheel as

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* The reference here is to a radio talk of the author on the National Crest, in which the following passage occurs: "These lions had originally carried on their backs an enormous wheel or *Chakra* supported in a stone shaft. This wheel is said to have had thirty-two spokes. But it has been broken into bits and only fragments have survived." *Our National Insignia*, P. 25.

the symbol of the Spiritual. One is reminded of Milto passage :

"Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest monarchies."

It is the weight of the mighty Monarchy of *Dharma* that t four lions are made to carry, to signify the superiority of Rig to Might."

As regards the Sudarshana *Chakra*, Gandhiji, it appear once told Dr. Mookerji : "But the Sudarshana *Chakra,* I co ceive to be the very acme of destructive force". To this remar the esteemed Doctor replied that it was not so, because Suda shan *Chakra*, according to our Shastra, is a cosmic circle of al embracing love, as indicated in the great Prayer,

"Akanda Mandalaakaram
Vyaaptam Yena Charaa Charam."

(The Cosmic circle within the limitless circuit of which i embraced all that is animate and inanimate).

It will be useful to recall what Veer V. D. Savarkar sai about the New Flag*. Thus, in December 1949, while inaugura ting the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Calcutta, he said : "Th Flag that is flying in the country today is India's own Flag. So it is a Hindu Flag—really and correctly, it is a Hindu Flag Then, in the Flag, there is the Asoka *Chakra.* Asoka was a Hindu Monarch, and Asoka *Chakra* was *Dharma Chakra*, and it was the *Dharma* of the Hindu race. But one thing they must not forget, viz., that, behind the Asoka *Chakra,* there was the Sudarshana *Chakra.* And if there is aggression, the Sudarshana *Chakra* will come out. Otherwise, the Hindus stand by the ideal of *Viswa-Kalyan*—the well-being of all Humanity."

We may conclude this chapter with the following description of the New Flag, entitled—

WE SALUTE !

On every fifteenth August,
We salute *our National Flag!*

* It appears that Sree Savarkarji, ever since his release from the Andamans, had been insisting on the rejection of the *Charka* on our Flags, and

With its KESARI Crown,
Signifying courage and sacrifice :
Its Silvery centre,
Connoting Truth and Peace ;
And the deep Green at the bottom,
Standing for Faith and Chivalry ;
On this day, we salute our Tri-colour.
And lo ! The Blue Wheel in the middle,
Of blessed fame of Bhagavan's might and Buddha's love ;
Hallowed by Asoka's use,
With its twenty-four Names of the Lord.
We adore .
We adore the CHAKRA Flag !
May it bring us power and peace ;
May it yield us health and Wealth ,
May it give us light and glory ,
We salute our National Flag !

29. "NOW IT CAN BE TOLD".*

"Now it can be told" is the title of a book, from the pen of Prof. A. N. Bali, formerly of Lahore, which, in the words of Master Tara Singh, was a "*Partition Souvenir*", *chronicling* the events of the fateful 1947 days in the Punjab area. "My object in writing this," says the author in his Preface, "is to rouse the conscience of the country, giving it a glimpse of the hell which the prosperous and proud people of the North-West Pakistan had to suffer in those critical days and to appeal to the leaders to learn from their past mistakes and take determined and suitable measures in hand to undo the evil effects of the greatest 'wrong' in history". The book gives a remarkable account of the happenings of those days in Western India particularly, and it behoves us to make rapid review of the same in our story of this "Partition of India."

It is necessary, at this stage, to remember that, so far as this West Pakistan area is concerned : (i) The word *Panch-ap* or the Land of the Five Rivers is itself mainly Indian—Sanskritic—having been mentioned, it is said, in the Vedas. (ii) The term *Sindhu*, as applied both to the river and the land through which it flows, was equally well-known to the Vedic seers, e.g., the expression *Saptha-Sindhavah*, and was derived originally from the word 'Indu' or the Moon, who equally with the Ganga, was the most beloved and inseparable spouse of the mighty Lord Shiva, the Lord of Kailas in the Himalayas. (iii) The word *India* itself was derived from this original INDU, and therefore, India without Sindhu is but a hollow pretension. (iv) Both the terms 'Punjab' and 'Sindhu' still persist in our chosen National Anthem, the Tagorean 'Jana Gana Mana.' (v) From the stand-point of our food position, the Punjab, with its excellent Irrigation system, has been the main granary for our wheat requirements particularly. (vi) From the stand-point of our national security, the Khyber and the Bolan passes have always been our strategic weak spots, through which many an invader had crossed this land and invaded its rich territories, from Darius and Alexander down to Babar and Humayun. (vii) While from the stand-point of our

* "Now it can be told," by Prof. A. N. Bali, Akashvani Prakashan Ltd., Gopalnagar, Jullundur City (East Punjab)—Price Rs. 3-00.

religion and culture, not to speak of the ancient Vedic or the Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro civilisations, the Punjab particularly has been the land of the recent Sikh and Arya Samajist cults and shrines; and no wonder if Master Tara Singh, in the course of his 'Foreword' to this book, exclaims · "Can history cite a single instance when a strong and numerous religious community like the Sikhs has lost the Holiest of its Holies to others? And what Master Tara Singh says of the Sikhs holds equally true of the Arya Samajists also."

Now, with this preamble, let us get into some details of this remarkable book—the story of West Pakistan, by one who was a participant in its misery

Lahore, it will be remembered, was the seat of the 1929 Congress, where the creed of *Purna Swaraj* was accepted under Sree Nehru's Presidentship Yet, when Independence came in 1947, this city, said to have been founded by Rama's son Lava, became an alien city—as alien as London or Peking, in a way perhaps more foreign than them both. And in this same Lahore City, in the year of Grace 1940, i e, shortly after the War broke out, the Muslim League declared its objective of Pakistan and reached the goal in about seven years, thanks to Mr Jinnah's masterly diplomacy and stewardship, the cloven foot and the divide *et impera* policy of the outgoing British Government, and the weak-kneed surrenderism of our Congress friends The result was, while in 1942, Mahatma Gandhi raised the slogan of 'Quit India', Mr. Jinnah retorted with his own call to the Britisher to 'Divide and Quit'. Veer Savarkar offered to join the 'Quit India' campaign, provided Gandhiji would not end it in a compromise and let down Indian Unity, as was feared. But Gandhiji spurned the offer, and invited the Quai de Azam to "establish Pakistan through the Congress." The Congress movement, we have seen, was nipped in the bud, and its leaders were clapped in jails and released ultimately. Even while the Working Committee members were in prison, the Congress leaders bargained for offices on the basis of the Desai-Liaquat Ali formula, viz, of parity for the Congress and League representatives in the Viceroy's Executive Council. And then followed in quick succession, the formation of the Interim Government (2-9-46), the Constituent Assembly (9-12-1946), Mr. Jinnah's Direct Action

earlier (on 16-8-1946), *and the establishment of Pakistan within* a year therefrom (15-8-47).

But let us see what happened at the time of the elections that had preceded the partition. In 1945, there were elections to the Central Legislature in which the League secured almost all the Muslim seats. Next year, there were the Provincial elections, in which all the Congress sponsored and supported 'Nationalist Mussalmans' were routed at the hands of the League's nominees, but the Congress won most of the Hindu (General) seats. In the Punjab, the League emerged as the largest single party, with the Congress as the second big. The Congress leaders then rejected an offer for a Congress-League-Akali Coalition and established instead a Congress-Unionist Ministry, which, however, soon went *into liquidation*, and both the Punjab and Bengal fell a prey to the League's goondaism, while the Congress leaders were experimenting at Delhi with their League-Congress coquetry.

A word, at this stage, about the Congress' attitude towards the Sikhs and the Hindu Mahasabha. In the words of Prof. Bali himself, we are told, on 6-9-1945, "Mr. Shamdas P. Gidwani interviewed Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and tried to impress upon them the desirability of the Congress not opposing the candidates of the Congress Independent Party and the Hindu Mahasabha. If the Hindu Mahasabha had been left to contest elections on Hindu tickets, it could have, in the later negotiations, played a much more useful role than the Congress did, handicapped as the latter was because of its professions to speak for the whole of India including the Muslims. The Congress Working Committee, however, decided to contest the elections and formed an Election Board. This Board did not contain any representative of the Punjab, N. W. Frontier Province, Sind, Assam and Bengal on it. The realists in the Congress inner cabinet were already endeavouring to convert their colleagues to the idea of accepting Mr. Jinnah's demand. The outward facade of an absolute hostility to a divided India was however, scrupulously maintained, only to mislead the Hindu masses......The *Muslim League* was the *only opponent* of the Congress left in the field, but the Congress did not accept its challenge and did not put up Congress Muslims to contest the

Muslim seats. The Muslims, even on the eve of the elections, had all been won over to the idea of Pakistan. The Congress candidates were returned unopposed. A rout had taken place in the Hindu Mahasabha ranks" (pp 90-94).

As for the aftermath of the elections, the learned author says: "The Punjab was made the special charge of Maulana Azad His intervention in Sindh affairs resulted in the weakening of the Hindus of the Congress Party and in the strengthening of the Muslim League. M Azad and Mr. Asaf Ali showed anxiety to help Mr Gazdar in re-establishing Muslim unity in Sindh" (p 95).

On the 30th May, 1947, Mahatma Gandhi declared in his post-prayer speech that "Even if the whole of Hindusthan is burnt to ashes, I will never concede an inch of India to Pakistan if it is sought to be achieved by coercion or violence" (p. 100) But Dr. Moonje, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, warned the country that they should take it for granted that the Congress leaders would agree to Mr Jinnah's demand for Pakistan "to achieve agreement and peace in India" Earlier, Dr Rajendra Prasad declared, "We should be prepared to save our country from division. We should be prepared at the same time to save non-violence from being destroyed in the meleo" Thus, to save the country and to save non-violence, became a double duty for our Congress friends! And when there was a conflict between the two, the leaders chose the latter, and agreed ultimately to the vivisection of the country. Even then non-violence could not be saved for a long time. And there were violent upheavals everywhere in the North—in Bengal, Bihar, U P., Punjab, N.W.F., Delhi, Alwar, Bharatpur, Patiala, etc. The Hindu public celebrated an Anti-Partition day on the 4th July and demanded the resignation of the Congress members from the Legislatures and a re-election on the partition issue. The Congress paid no heed to it

The following story related on pages 96 and 97 of the book will be worth remembering on account of the light which it throws on the mysterious ways of the Congress. "Having won the elections, the Congress was now in a supreme position to dictate terms for a political compromise to the British Government and the Muslim League on behalf of the thirty-seven [illegible] of Hindus. The political map of India was going to be [illegible] and hence the coming two years were considered as [illegible]

in the history of this land. The Presidentship of the Congress was going to be the key-position in the new set-up of things. There were two candidates in the running, Sardar Patel and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. Majority of the Provincial Congress Committees had voted in favour of Sardar Patel. He had been only once elected before as the President of the Congress, though Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had that honour several times. The result was considered as foregone. But there was considerable activity behind the Purdah. Maulana Azad saw Mahatma Gandhi in Bhangiwara, New Delhi, and somehow or other got sanction for Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru to be appointed as his successor in preference to Sardar Patel. It was openly said in the papers that Maulana Azad had advised Mahatma Gandhi to run down Sardar Patel's name in favour of Pt. Jawharlal Nehru on the plea that, if the former became the President, it would be difficult for the non-Hindu elements in the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi's intervention at this stage proved a turning point in India's history, as the later events clearly showed."

The book gives a moving picture of the holocaust that preceded and followed the partition ; but it is hardly necessary to go into all its details here. Suffice it, therefore, if I merely quote what the author has to say regarding the actual conduct of the "war against the Hindus and Sikhs in India". "The League first gave an ultimatum at Delhi," says the writer, "when blood-curdling threats were held out to the Hindus and Minorities living in predominently Muslim areas. Visions of the blood orgies of Halaku Khan and Chenghiz Khan were conjured up. This was the first stage in the declaration of war, i.e., the ultimatum. The second stage was the open declaration of war on the 16th August, 1946, through Direct Action day. The great Calcutta killing which followed was the first battle of the war... In eight months of this war, the League had seen many ups and downs, but their general staff was always well prepared to meet any situation. After all, you cannot win all the battles in a war. In the latest battle in the North, and South-west Punjab, they had a sweeping victory, mainly through the surprise and swiftness of action with which the battle was planned and launched. The ultimate object of all warfare is not the destruction of life and property or even the destruction of the armed forces

of the enemy, but the *overcoming of the will of the opponent.* Losses are inevitable, but the general staff coldly calculate in advance the losses in material and man-power that their people will have to bear before they can overcome the will of the opponent and smash his morale. The general staff is never sentimental about it and is never carried away by emotion They rarely visit fields of battle. If they do so, their judgment would be warped or influenced by local conditions The third stage of war is for one party to call for a truce Usually, it is the stronger party that offers truce, the weaker party sues for peace conditionally or unconditionally

"Mr Jinnah had shown expert leadership The quality of the staff work put in was of the highest order He did not even once visit the 'battlefields' of Calcutta, Bihar, Noakhali, Garh Mukteshwar, Rawalpindi and Multan. By keeping himself aloof from the din and turmoil of 'battles', he was coolly and calmly planning to win the 'war' and overcome the will of his opponents The Hindu leaders, on the other hand, committed blunders. In the first place, they refused to take the ultimatum seriously and wishfully looked upon it as a mere camouflage In the second place, even when the war was declared, they refused to see in it anything but a 'phoney' war that could be won by mere statements and facts. Even when the war was raging with full fury, they refused to see behind it a master plan and a military direction. They were busy organising ambulance work and missions of mercy for the victims of battle, but they still refused to believe that battles were being fought and that these were a part of a planned war that was raging in the country. The offer of a truce should have opened their eyes to the grim realities, but alas! it was not to be.

"Mr. Jinnah was succeeding to all intents and purposes He had won the first round The will of his opponents was weakening. By successive stages, they had accepted his *one condition* after the other. But these were the days of unconditional surrender, and signs were not wanting that this would also be forth-coming not before long, unless, in the meantime, a miracle [illegible] happened and practical-minded Hindus and Sikhs took [illegible] of visionaries and idealists who lived more in All-Asia [illegible] plane than in an India of warring factions. B[illegible]

be. The visionaries continued to be the leaders of the Hindus and the Sikhs, and there was every sign that, in their keen desire to control India's destinies in the shortest period of time, they would even make an unconditional surrender to Mr. Jinnah" (pp. 84-86).

While the whole of the Punjab was thus convulsed with these killings and burnings, how is it that there was no Martial Law introduced in the Province? The author provides an answer in these words. "Burnings and stabbings, however, continued. There was an insistent demand of the minorities for the imposition of Martial Law, which, in the words of Sardar Baldev Singh, was an extreme course and could not be resorted to unless there was a complete break-down of civil administration. A complete break-down of civil administration had taken place so far as the protection of life and property was concerned. But living in the cool heights of Simla, Sardar Baldev Singh could not realise this. Though Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the Vice-President of the Government of India, and the strong man of the Congress, Sardar Patel, was also in the Cabinet, they both failed to persuade the Governor-General to accede to this demand. Deputations saw them; telegrams were sent in hundreds; letters poured in by thousands; the Chambers of Commerce and representatives of various other institutions sent urgent memoranda. But nothing was done. Rana Jang Bahadur Singh of the 'Tribune', than whom there was no more vocal champion of the Lahore Hindus and Sikhs at this time, went to Delhi and saw personally all the big guns of the Congress there. He urged them to impress upon the authorities the need for the declaration of Martial Law, which, in his view, was the only cure. He pleaded passionately, "Come and see things for yourselves." "The great men heard every syllable of what I said with rapt attention," he wrote. "Quite frequently, they interrupted me and asked me questions and explained their position. One of them promised to try to extricate himself from high politics for a while and snatch a visit to Lahore. But as regards the use of the suggested desperate remedy, no assurance could be given to me." At this time, Sardar Baldev Singh* paid a visit to Lahore and paid a tribute to H. E. Sir Evan Jenkins

* Sardar Baldev Singh, it will be remembered, was Member for Defence at Delhi at this critical juncture.

for his utmost vigilance and determination to put down lawlessness. 'I am satisfied with the arrangements made to restore peace', declared Sardar Baldev Singh. "After giving this certificate of good conduct to the Governor, the Defence Member hastily slipped away to his Simla abode" (p 27.)

One incident in this tragic tale must be related. "The 11th of August", the author writes, "was the worst day in Lahore. The Hindu and Sikh staff of the various Government departments and *private and public firms and institutions* had been leaving Lahore or moving out to safer areas which were fast diminishing in numbers. On the 11th and during the three succeeding days, there was a veritable terror let loose on the Railway Station and in all parts of the town. A whole train-load of Hindus and Sikhs coming from Rawalpindi side (Sindh Express) was purposely taken to a siding between the Badami Bagh and Lahore stations by its Muslim driver and halted there for no apparent reason. The reason, however, soon became apparent when the train was surrounded from all sides by a furious mob. On a given signal, all the Hindu and Sikh passengers including women and children were butchered in cold blood and their belongings looted. Another train which is known as 'Babu' train, which used to leave for the C.M.A's. office in the Lahore Cantonment, had met with a similar fate near the outer signal of the main railway station. Earlier, on 23rd July, 1942, one train of Workshop labourers was attacked by its Muslim workers and all the Hindu and Sikh labourers were killed or wounded The routes leading to the Railway station were all littered with the dead and dying Hindus and Sikhs." "The 14th of August (1947) was a day of jubilation for the rest of India, but it was a day of death and destruction for the Hindus and Sikhs of Lahore and the rest of West Punjab." (p. 36)

Describing the first Independence day at Lahore, in a separate chapter of barely three pages, the author writes: "It was the fifteenth of August, 1947—the fateful date fixed by the magnanimous British for handing over power to the impatient Indian leaders." "The fateful day arrived. Delhi and other Provincial Capitals were agog with excitement and enthusiasm"

"I was in Lahore during August 1947. The orgy of blood, loot and arson was let loose on the town." "A well-known

Muslim Corporation member had organised the mass-killing of the Hindus and Sikhs, and a still better known Muslim League woman had taken control of squads of badmashes feverishly engaged in arson. A woman turned 'Fury' is a terrible thing; and this woman, frustrated in love and ambition, was now the supreme commander of the faithful 'fire' men."

"The evening was drawing to a close. I turned the radio to Delhi. The babble of tongues, the excitement of the vast assembled crowd near the Red Fort could be clearly heard. The announcer was giving a running commentary on the whole show; The Independence of India was being inaugurated.........And suddenly, the announcer in his dulcet voice said; 'Look, the sky has become overcast with clouds—it appears it is going to rain—Yes, it is drizzling. It is raining. What a good augury for Independence day! Oh, now, it has stopped raining.' And after a few minutes, with a triumphant note in his voice, he announced, 'Look, there is a rainbow in the sky! What a grand rainbow! And how auspicious it is!".

"Just then", Prof. Bali proceeded in a telling and dramatic contrast, in Lahore, "a bullet was fired in the Sanda Road Chowk, hardly fifty yards from my Kothi. A constable of the Additional Police guarding the Electric Sub-station had shot at an innocent non-Muslim way-farer. A thick cloud of soot and smoke rose towards the sky on Lohari Gate side. It turned into a vast red tongue shooting upwards. A little to the left towards Gurudatt Bhavan was visible another huge sheet of fire. The two fires between them formed a 'Firebrow' in the sky. Word was soon brought that the holiest of the holies of the Hindus of Lahore—the Sitla Mandir—was ablaze......'Azadi', 'Azadi' was on the lips of the Delhi crowds. 'Barbadi', 'Barbadi', was the anguished cry of every Lahore Hindu and Sikh."

"The night following Independence was a terrible one for the Lahore minorities. At about ten o'clock, shouts of 'Allah O, Akbar' in an increasing crescendo were heard from a corner in Mozang. After about half an hour, bursts of rifle fire were heard. The firing continued intermittently for an hour. Then there was lull, broken now and then by mighty shouts of 'Allah O Akbar', 'Pakistan Zindabad' and 'Hindusthan Muradabad,". "It was a

hell of a night to go through. It was not a night, it was a nightmare "* Speaking of the part played by the Government of India in this tragic story, the learned Professor writes. "Britain had administered the country for more than a century in a way that had brought to India's enormous and most tangled community real order and stability. Their rule had kept the age-old hatreds of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs on the level of mutual forbearance One terrible outburst after another however had shown the Interim Government to be incompetent in meeting and controlling the situation. The Indian Interim Government had shown itself to India and the World as a complete failure and as a direct result of this, terrible religious hatred had been given a new lease of life with a scope and intensity unparallelled in the last two hundred years " (p. 47)

"The communal riots and disturbances", the author continued, "have become the order of the day from one end of the country to the other. Unlike Britain in the fourth century, India had a very well equipped and numerous army, a well-organised Police and a Civil service trained to do its job. India's Army after the defeat of Japan was the best in Asia barring Soviet Russia's, and its strength was sufficient for the suppression of the riots, if only the largest party in the Government, the Congress, had shown a firm determination to do so Military aid was now being requisitioned by the civil authorities in many provinces of India, including Assam; but the aid sent was not sufficient and the troops were nowhere entrusted with direct responsibility for maintaining peace and order. The criminal neglect not to declare Martial Law in any of the centres of disturbances showed that either the Government of India did not know how to deal with the ugly situation that had arisen in the country or they were prevented from doing so by the Governor-General, or it may be that their own ideological faith in non-violence prevented the Congress members from proposing any such measures". "It is true that Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru showed

* "As we passed over the boundary area of the Punjab", writes Mr. Alan C. Johnson who accompanied the Viceroy from Karachi to New Delhi on the Independence Day, "we could see several large fires, beacons of ill-omen dominating the landscape for miles around."—*Mission with Mountbatten*, p. 158.

commendable speed and strength in suppressing the Bihar riots where Muslim minority was the victim. But why did he not show the same strength and speed in tackling the aggression in Calcutta, Rawalpindi and Multan?" (pp. 47-48)

"The tragic story of the doings of the Muslim League and the Congress unfolded above shows how practical and hard-headed the Muslims are, if once they make up their mind to achieve a particular object and how supine and weak has been the Congress leadership in the hands of visionaries who lost the last battle of India's Unity to their opponents so ingloriously. Even after their surrender in conceding Pakistan, had the Congress leaders shown some strength and determination, the Hindus and Sikhs in the West Punjab would have remained where they were, and the stories of Hindusthan and Pakistan would have been different from what they are now." (p. 50)

As regards the movement of Population, we read: "According to the 1941 census, the Hindu and Sikh population of West Punjab, N.W.F. Province, Bahawalpur, Sindh and Baluchistan was 59 lakhs. This figure was an under-estimate as the 1941 census was a fake census. Allowing for the normal rate of increase from the period 1931 to 1941, the total population by 1947 should have been on the basis of 1941 census, 68 lakhs. Of these about 55 lakhs were evacuated from West Punjab. There were still 4 lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs in Sindh on June 15, 1948, while 4,78,000 had been evacuated from Sindh. Where have the remaining gone? According to the lists given to Pakistan, there are still 28,000 Hindu and Sikh women and children to be rescued from there. But the great majority of four lakhs unaccounted for must be presumed to have been killed in Pakistan". (p. 109)

"According to the Government of India census covering the period upto the 10th of April, 1949, five million refugees from West Pakistan are now living in India. The number of refugees from East Pakistan was estimated at 1.95 million".

And as regards the properties left behind by the Hindu and Sikh refugees in Pakistan, the distinguished Professor wrote: "Whereas the Pakistan Government has gone forward step by step to confiscate the Hindus' and Sikhs' property amounting to

Rs. Four thousand crores,* according to an incomplete estimate, the Government of India has not still finalised its plan with regard to the property of those Muslims who had permanently gone to Pakistan. 'Heads I win, and tails you lose' is the motto of action for Pakistan which our Government has tamely accepted". (p. 81)

How did the Hindu masses react to these doings of the Congress leaders? Let the Professor answer "The reaction of the Hindu and Sikh masses to the division of the country agreed to by Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders was forcefully brought to their notice when they visited Hardwar on June 21, 1947. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru stayed in the Dak-Bungalow, while Gandhiji stayed in Birla House They were received by high officers and a large number of Congress workers; but while going to Birla House, Mahatma Gandhi was confronted with a huge procession of Hindu and Sikh refugees who had been driven out of their homes owing to Muslim League terror, and who now found that there was very little chance of their going back to their home-lands For the first time, Mahatma Gandhi heard shouts of 'Mahatma Gandhi Muradabad', 'Nehru Muradabad', 'U.P. Government Muradabad.' Way was found for them with great difficulty to get out of this crowd. While visiting the Punjab-Sind Kheshtra, another hostile mob shouted, 'Nehru go back,' and the usual 'Muradabad' slagans. He was not allowed to continue his speech. When, in the evening, a public meeting was to be addressed in the Town Hall by Pandit Nehru and Gandhiji, the same scenes of rowdyism were witnessed there, and for the first time, Gandhiji could not hold a public meeting and had to come back to Delhi. It is said, and we heard the story at Lahore though it may not be correct, that one of the rowdy refugees inadvertently touched the hand of the daughter of Pandit Nehru (Mrs. Indira Gandhi) who was with him on this trip. Pt Jawaharlal is said to have flown into a rage and to have threatened to use violence against the culprit on which the latter humbly told Pt. Nehru, "You have flown into fury simply because my hand has inadvertently touched the hand of your daughter in this large crowd. Can you imagine how deep is the

* The total value of the properties left by Muslims in India ; 1 at Rs. 1000 crores.

anguish of my heart when I tell you that two of my daughters have been kidnapped and forcibly converted and married to goondas in West Punjab, *my wife killed and my house burnt* and property looted? It is all well of you to preach non-violence to others, but charity should begin at home." (p. 102)

Space does not permit my referring to the many events, incidents, factual details etc., dealt with in this book; but, in view of their widespread currency and even fantastic exaggeration at the time of their occurrence, I fear, I should not omit quoting the author's version of what were then described as 'Pakistan's gifts to India' and *vice versa*, viz., of the several train loads of corpses so pathetically described here. Thus we read:—

"The Hindus and Sikhs were being subjected to all manners of indignities. According to the official reports received by East Punjab, families were separated from their male members at Jhelum. Males were all herded together and cut down with axes and saws as orders were issued not to waste a round on Kafirs. The women-folk were then allotted so many to each group of Pathans. In Gujerat area, the number of abducted girls was estimated at 4,000. At certain places, general traffic in Hindu and Sikh women proceeded and abducted women were sold in the open market, *at times by auction*. Refugee *trains were attacked*, passengers killed, girls forcibly taken away and property looted practically every day...

"I was at Amritsar when the ghastly news of the massacre and looting of the Pind-dadan Khan train reached Amritsar. The gentry of Bhera, Pind-dadan Khan and Miani, with all their valuables, had left *under protection* of Pakistan troops for Amritsar. The train was halted beyond Kamoke railway station, when the Military disappeared for a while and the entire Hindu and Sikh passengers, men, women and children, were murdered or seriously wounded, and their belongings looted. A few wounded were removed to Gujranwala Hospital and the train, when it reached Amritsar, was found to be empty except for the few refugees who had entrained on the way from Lahore to Amritsar. The compartments had slashes of blood almost half an inch thick. At this time, train loads of Muslims from East Punjab were on their way to Pakistan and the Congress rulers

became very anxious on their account when they heard the news of Kamoke train slaughter. Sardar Patel flew to Amritsar and addressing a huge gathering of people there, exhorted them to allow safe passage to the Muslims and in return for this, assured them that the question of meting out suitable punishment to the offenders who were attacking the Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan would be taken up at 'Government level'. A few weeks after, in January 1948, in spite of assurances given by Sardar Patel, there occurred another tragedy at Gujerat This time the victims were the Hindus and Sikhs of Bannu, my native town from the N.W.F. Province. The train which had started under adequate protection and had been given an Indian escort was to come via Daud Khel, Darya Khan, Multan and Montgomery. For no apparent reason whatsoever, it was routed via Malikwal and Lalamusa. The train contained the richest men of Bannu, a large number of Army contractors and Mohulla Chowdhries who were reported to be possessors of a fabulous store of wealth. The train was halted at Gujerat and fired upon by a mob of Pathans. The Indian troops, every one of whom received injuries, appeared to be brave but inexperienced soldiers. At the first attack, they opened out bursts of fire and in a few hours exhausted their entire ammunition. The mob which seemed to have been led by a cunning Military train, held itself at a distance for hours till they were convinced that no more ammunition was left with the Indian escort The train then became an easy prey and the fate of the men, women and children at the hands of the blood-thirsty Pathans and the Muslim League goondas can better be imagined than described. According to the calculations of one of the survivors of the train, the loss of property alone amounted to Rs. 1 crore. The news of the Gujerat tragedy stunned every Punjabi Hindu and Sikh, and the only assurance that the Government of India could give was that suitable action would be taken in the matter and discussed at 'Government level' with Pakistan! Of course, vigorous verbal protests were lodged with that Government. Mahatma Gandhi was observing a fast at this time.* His followers became alarmed at the thought of any retaliatory action taken by the Hindus and Sikhs at Amritsar against the Moslem evacuee trains at this time towards Wagha frontier.

* The fast was over the issue of the payment of Rs. 55 crores due to Pakistan.

They were sure that any such action taken against the Muslims would mean the end of Mahatma Gandhi, as, in that case, he would not break his fast. They ran to Amritsar from all corners of the Punjab, went about to all people who mattered, imploring them to desist from taking revenge. The Police and the Civil authorities were alerted. Curfews were imposed and dire threats held out by beat of drum to all elements who would try to settle the matter at private level. Of course, the phrase 'Save Gandhiji's life' was their main slogan. The Punjabis whose blood was boiling were, however, calmed down when they were told that the life of Bapu was in danger. What action the Government of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru took about the Gujerat train tragedy is, of course, known only to his Government. So far no public announcement has been made about it nor has any compensation been paid to the victims". (pp. 110-112)

There are many incidents of the horror and destruction recorded in this book; but only one more—the most gruesome of them all—may be reproduced here. Thus, on page 43, we read: "Swami Nandh Singh, Rais and Municipal Commissioner who was an active number of the Peace Committee of Sheikhpura, was wounded but not killed by police firing. A Muslim League worker cut down his head with his sword and stuck in the head the Muslim League Flag, and shouted, 'Muslim League Zindabad'. The head, with the flag sticking out, was then paraded in the streets." (p. 43)

30. PROBLEM OF DISPLACED PERSONS

As regards the problem of the displaced persons which followed as an inevitable concomitant of this partition, I think, I had better quote from the Report of the Government of India's Second Five-year Plan (Draft Outline) which will be an authoritative pronouncement Thus, in its chapter entitled "Rehabilitation of displaced persons", we read:

"After partition, the relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons from West and East Pakistan was a major national task. The First Five-year Plan accorded a high priority to the rehabilitation of 8.53 million displaced persons and provided for a total outlay of Rs. 136 crores.

"2. At the end of the first plan, nearly 2 3 million displaced persons from West Pakistan have been settled on land, and their rehabilitation has been assisted with loans and grants. In urban areas, 1.2 million persons have been accommodated in evacuee houses and another million persons in 2,00,000 newly constructed tenements. In order to enable displaced persons in urban areas to settle down in small-scale business, industry or profession, loans up to Rs. 5,000 per family have been advanced by State Governments. Loans for larger undertakings have been advanced by the Rehabilitation Finance Administration. Vocational training centres have been established and about 75,000 persons have so far been trained in various occupations and 6,000 are at present receiving training. Financial assistance has been provided to private educational institutions catering to the educational needs of displaced students Stipends, freeships, grants and scholarships have been given to displaced students. Fourteen townships have been built to assist displaced persons in finding shelter and employment. In these, provision has been made for developing civic amenities like water-supply, drainage and electricity. In order to expand employment opportunities in the townships, recently schemes have been approved for encouraging the establishment of industries with a measure of Government assistance. The industries so far started are estimated to give employment to 11,000 displaced persons both from East and West Pakistan. The compensation scheme for

displaced persons from West Pakistan is now being implemented. Until this scheme has been carried out fully, the rehabilitation of these displaced persons will continue to require attention.

"3. There has been a continuous influx of displaced persons from East Pakistan into West Bengal and neighbouring states. Out of 3.83 million persons who have so far migrated about 388,000 families have been settled on land and other ancillary occupations. About 350,000 residential units have been constructed in rural and urban areas mainly by displaced persons with loans from the Government. About 22,000 displaced persons have been given vocational and technical training and 8,000 are now under training. Business loans have been advanced to about 88,000 families. The continuing influx of displaced persons has made the problem of rehabilitation in the Eastern States particularly difficult. At present it is estimated that about 170,000 families require to be rehabilitated."

The total provision for rehabilitation under the Second Five-year Plan is Rs. 90 crores.

An idea of the actual position of the influx of these persons from East Pakistan, which is still continuing, may be gleaned from the following figures furnished from official sources.

"New Delhi, Feb. 4, 1956—The peak migration figure of 3,20,000 refugees from East Pakistan was recorded in 1956, despite a fall in the rate of influx noticed in the latter half of the year, according to statistics for the whole year available now. The monthly average of the influx into India worked out to 26,600 last year, as against 6,300 in 1953, 9300 in 1954, and 19,300 in 1955. The total number of persons displaced from East Pakistan till the end of 1956 is now estimated at 3.987 millions as against 76,100 in 1953.

"The influx having continued, and in fact grown, despite the numerous agreements, assurances and undertakings, and the saturation point having been reached in West Bengal in their resettlement camps are being opened in other States. A sum of Rupees ten crores was sanctioned during the second half of 1956 for rehabilitation schemes and development projects. Schemes

for the acquisition and reclamation of 20,000 acres of land in States outside West Bengal to settle 5,000 families at a cost of Rs. 168.5 lakhs have been drawn up."

What the extent of this problem on the Pakistan side is like, Allah knows! The burden must be comparatively less, I suppose, because of the smaller numbers of those who left India and of the larger assets left behind by the Hindus in the Pakistan territories. But eleven years after the partition was effected, there are still lakhs of these refugees in West Benga to be resettled, for which a huge scheme, called the Dandakaranya scheme, is being worked up just now in the Deccan, and no one can say what the efflux from East Bengal will be in the event of any worsening in the Indo-Pakistan relations at any time in future!

31. SERVICES OF THE R. S. S.

In all this tragic tale, there was only one silver lining to the otherwise dark clouds—and it was the record of the services of a band of Volunteers known as the Rashtreeya Swayam Sevak Sangh.

Before starting his Chirala-Perala movement, the great Andhra Ratna had founded the Rama-Dandu or Divine Militia, which served him gloriously. But, for its alleged 'communalism', the Congress leaders killed it, and yet would not themselves build up any other volunteerism of their own.

On the eve of the partition, and particularly to meet the situation created by the League's Direct Action, I myself suggested a million National Militia or Republican Army—to serve the Nation in its hour of need. But the Congress captains would not think of it.

Thus, a critical situation arose in India. And to meet it, at least feebly, though not effectively, the R. S. S. did great service, to the Hindus and Sikhs especially, who, but for such service, would have fared much worse. And here is what Prof. Bali has got to say in his book about the work of this Volunteer band.

"The insistent demand of the Hindus and Sikhs about the declaration of Martial Law in the province was studiously ignored. The police was mostly League-minded, particularly in the lower ranks with whom the public came into contact. Non-violence and the advice given by Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Rajendra Prasad etc., to stay out where they were, with a firm trust in God, appeared to most of the victims as a counsel of perfection which could only be given from a safe distance. Who else came to the rescue of the people at this stage, but a band of young, selfless Hindus, popularly known as the R. S. S.? They organised in every mohalla of every town of the Province the work of evacuation of the Hindu and Sikh women and children from dangerous pockets to comparatively safe centres. They organised for their feeding, medical aid, clothing and care, parties for the protection of

institutions were organised. Even fire engine brigades were formed in various towns. Arrangements for transport by lorries and buses and provision of escort on the trains carrying the fleeing Hindus and Sikhs were organised. Day and night vigils in various Hindu and Sikh localities were kept, and people were taught how to defend themselves when attacked. When the situation on the eve of partition became very serious and Law and Order utterly broke down, or it would be more correct to say, was now used only to suppress the Hindus and Sikhs, several members of the R. S. S showed their proficiency in the use of fire weapons. It almost became a tit for tat. These young men were the first to come to the help of the stricken Hindus and Sikhs and were the last to leave their places for safety in East Punjab. No request for help from any quarter was refused, and there are cases which came to our notice where the Muslim women and children were safely escorted out of the Hindu Mohallas and sent to the Muslim League refugee centres in Lahore by the R. S. S. men. /

"The R S. S. was known and respected in the Punjab for the love of physical exercise which it encourged among the Hindu youths of the town. The physical degeneration of the Hindus was a common theme of propaganda of the Singh Sabhas, Sanatana Dharma Sabhas and Arya Samajas. All these bodies had done their best to stop it by preaching the love of exercise, but they could do this through their school and college games in which only a small percentage of young men could take part. The Sangh, on the other hand, carried on day in and day out and every day of the week and every week of the month and throughout the year a regular physical training programme combined with games and songs. Their discipline, their physical fitness and their selflessness in face of dangers came to the rescue of the people in the Punjab when the whole Province was burning and when the Congress leaders were helplessly fiddling in New Delhi, not being able to overcome the opposition of the Muslim League and the obstinacy of the Governor-General to their proposal for stronger action for the maintenance of Law and Order.

"The R. S. S. S ' was founded in 1925 on Vijaya-Dasami (Dusehra) day by Dr. Keshav Balarama Hedgewar who ' his

inspiration from the ancient and glorious past of the Hindus, but its main emphasis was on character-building. He died in 1940, and its leadership devolved on Shri Madhavrao Sadashivrao Golwalkar who was once a Professor of Science at the Banaras Hindu University. The movement gained popularity in about 1935, when it assumed an inter-provincial status. As the Hindus realised the growing strength of the Muslim League and its insistence on Pakistan and the perpetual weakness of the Congress in resisting this demand, the Sangh became more and more popular with the Hindus. The appeasement policy of the Congress, in other words, has as much to do with the growing popularity of the movement among the Hindus and the Sikhs, as the Muslim League's unreasonable attitude to the political progress of the country. Apart from popular support, it is the organising ability of its leaders which holds thousands of its branches together. The organisation suits the Indian genius, and yet is most scientific and up-to-date in its discipline and effectiveness. The movement is organised from the smallest unit.

"The movement is not puritanical in the sense that its members can eat meat or remain vegetarian according to their disposition, but smoking and drinking are discouraged because they interfere with physical training and character-building. All the provincial organisers and provincial Sangha Chalaks are directed by the All-India Baudhik-Karyawah and two Sarkaryawahs. There is an extra post of Sah-Sarkaryawah who is under the two Sarkaryawahs. Above all, is the Sar-Sangh Chalak who controls the whole organisation.

"The Sangh treads across religious divisions and does not put bar to any Sikh joining it, as the Sangh and its leaders have the highest praise for the Sikhs and the Gurus for their fight against foreign rulers. They firmly believe that Sikhs and other sects are part and parcel of the whole Hindu society. Similarly the present provincial boundaries are also ignored. The aim of the Sangh is to bind all the Hindus in the common ideology of the country and its culture irrespective of provincial angularities. A Sangh member from Madras is fired with the same inspiration as a Sangh member from Peshawar. If it were left to the Sanghies alone, the problem of rehabilitation of the

refugees from West and East Pakistan would have been solved long ago That the Sangh has taught its members and those who came in contact with it the virtue of discipline is proved by the fact that everywhere, inspite of lakhs of people assembling, there has not been a single untoward incident

"The Government of India struck strong and struck mercilessly after Mahatma Gandhi's death at the workers of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sangh. According to a report published in the New Delhi paper, 'The Hindusthan Times', as many as ten thousand persons were arrested in the country after Mahatmaji's assassination, thereby establishing a world record of arrests following a political murder. A mass hysteria overtook the non-violent Congress workers and supporters. According to the Government's own admission in the Parliament, as many as 1000 houses were burnt or razed to the ground, hundreds of people were attacked, killed or wounded in Maharashtra and in the rest of the country. A ban on the R S.S was imposed and the leaders were put in jail. Even the Samadhi of the founder of the Sangh at Reshambagh, Nagpur, was not spared by the Congress mobs. The restrictions on the R.S.S chief were removed in October 1948, but the ban on the organisation remained. Failing to get redress from any quarter, the Sangh decided to adopt the same methods which the Congress had always been adopting in its struggle with its opponents. But the Satyagraha of the Sangh took only a mild shape of going about in processions, holding meetings, etc. They first technically disobeyed the law and courted arrests. The Press dominated by the Congress, Socialists and Communists, was hostile. The Government of India, on their part, began to send to jails not only the members of the Sangh but also what they called their 'sympathisers'. The use of tear-gas and lathis was not uncommon and reports of indiscriminate beating began to be received from several jails and cities. The figures of the total number of Sanghies taken into custody have never been published. But adding the figures of persons who courted arrest in the several provinces, the total well exceeded the figure of sixty thousands.

"Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru disdainfully dismissed the whole show by calling it a Satyagraha of Chhokras". But the ban was lifted at last.

Just one more incident connected with these brave R.S.S. Volunteers, and it relates to a Muslim plot for capturing Delhi shortly after Independence. Referring to the intended Muslim coup in Delhi on September 10, 1947,* the late Bharat Ratna Dr. Bhagavandas wrote on 16-10-1948: "I have been reliably informed that a number of youths of R.S.S. underwent the self-imposed indignity and shame of pretending to become even converts to Islam in order to secure the confidence of Muslim Leaguers in New Delhi and so were able to inform Sardar Patel in the very nick of time of the Leaguers' intended coup on September 10, 1947, whereby they had planned to assassinate all members of Government and all Hindu officials and thousands of Hindu citizens on that day, and plant the flag of Pakistan on the Red Fort and thus seize all Hind. If those high-spirited and self-sacrificing boys had not *given the very timely information to* Patelji, there would have been no Government of India today, the whole country would have changed its name into 'Pakistan', tens of millions of Hindus would have been slaughtered and the rest converted to Islam or reduced to stark slavery, and the super-orthodox and fanatically bigoted Pandit-gentlemen would have been either dead or eating cow's flesh with gusto."

—*Shri Guruji, the Man and his Mission,* P. 34.

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* Mr. Alan C-Johnson, thus writes in his book, 'Mission with Mountbatten', under date the 7th September. "The situation in Delhi worsened very considerably during the previous twenty-four hours. 'If we go down in

32. THE MEO REVOLT

(A Brief history of the Rebellion of the Meo Muslims of Alwar State in Rajputana)

[Translated from Dr. N B. Khare's Autobiography in Marathi, with due acknowledgements to the esteemed Doctor for his kind permission. It will be recalled that Dr. Khare was Prime Minister of Alwar State in those days]

To understand the implications of the 1947 troubles in Alwar, it is necessary to give the background from ancient times.

Alwar State is situated in the north-east corner of Rajasthan Its area, including the Nim Rana Jahagir, is about 3,200 square miles. To its north is situated the Gurgaon District of East Punjab, Nabha and the Kotkasim Pargana of the Jaipur State. To its east is situated also the Gurgaon district and the Bharatpur State, and to its west are situated the Jaipur, Nabha and Patiala States. In the central area of the State, there are lots of small hillocks which are rocky and unapproachable even to pedestrians These hillocks comprise an area of about 500 square miles of the State. The population of the State is about 9 lakhs, out of which the Meo, Khanjad, Rangad, and other Muslims constitute 2½ lakhs, their percentage to the total population being 27.

There is an important area in the State named Mewat, the people of which have common culture and language. These Meo inhabitants of Mewat are notorious in Indian history Tijara, Kishangad and Ramgad Nizamates and the northern part of the Lakhangad Nizamat and practically the whole of Alwar Nizamat constitute this Mewat territory which is about one-third of the whole State. This Mewat territory is not limited to Alwar State only. It extends into the Gurgaon district of East Punjab, Bharatpur State and the Mathura district of Uttar Pradesh These Meo Muslims are notorious as a rebellious people even in the Muslim regime. There was always a tussle between Alwar and Tijara for supremacy in this whole area. (Elliot—Muslim History, Part IV, page 273)

The Meos, with other Muslims, always indulged in raiding and looting the surrounding areas. Many examples of this

activity of theirs are recorded in Indian History. These Meos were very much troublesome to the Muslim rulers of Delhi and they are described by Muslim historians as terrible people and condemned. They were carrying out these activities even at the time of Sultan Balban. These people sometimes even raided the area round Delhi and carried on their looting and raiding activities there, without being afraid of the ruling authority. On account of this, it was necessary in those times to close the Western Gate of Delhi at the time of mid-day. Nizam Sultan Balban had to drive them from the forests surrounding Delhi and had to keep sufficient forces in that area for its protection. One Bahadur Nehar Mewati became a powerful Sardar in 1386. He had his fortress and residence at Kotila in the Tijara hill area. He was always indulging in looting the territory upto Delhi ; Nasiruddin the ruler of Delhi at that time, had to pursue him and drive him towards Zirka. One Sardar of Taimurlang, named Khir Khan, surrounded the fortress of this Bahadur Nehar Mewati and destroyed his place Kotila and drove away the Meos from that area. Thereupon, the Meos took shelter in the surrounding hilly tracts. (Briggs Farishta, Part I, Page 495; Musalman Riyasat, Part III, Page 449, and Part I, Pages 35-53.)

In 1421, Syed Mubarak invaded the Mewat area and carried on destruction there. The Meos therefore took shelter again in the Tijara area. The next year, the ruler invaded Mewat again, but the Meos destroyed their own habitations and villages and fled away to the Tijara hills. This had no effect on the Meos. Therefore, the ruler carried on terrible slaughter and incendiarism there. (Briggs-Farishta, Part I, Page 518 and Musalman Riyasat, Part IV, Page 61.) The Emperor again invaded Mewat in 1427. At that time also, the Meos followed their old technique of burning their habitations and fleeing away. In 1428 also, the Emperor had to carry destruction again into the Mewat area.

In 1450, after ascending the throne, Bahlol Lodi, invaded Mewat immediately, but he could not subdue the Meos and they continued to trouble him always. The Emperor Babar wrote in his Autobiography that the ring-leader of the rebel Meos was Hasan Khan Mewati. Babar subdued the Meos and they were kept under control till the end of the Sur Dynasty. Humayun,

in his regime, entrusted the work of establishing peace in Mewat area to Mirza Hindal. After him, Akbar completely humbled the Meos and made rigorous arrangements to keep them on the right path.

During the reign of Maharaj Rajashri Bakhtawar Singhji, the Meos of Sonkhar and Kathumar in the south-east and Tijara and Tapukda in the north-east created trouble After him, Maharaj Rajashri Sawai Vijayasinghji also had to face terrible raids from the Meos Mild measures were found ineffective Therefore, their hamlets were burnt and their cattle were wrested from them. This alone brought them to book (Imperial Gazetteer of India, page 428.) The Meos kept the peace after being thus subdued, but they again indulged in their evil practices as soon as they got an opportunity (Pollet, Gazetteer of Alwar, page 38.) In 1847, the Meos collected together and they burnt the granaries of the State and carried away the cattle. They also looted Ferozepore and other villages in the British territory Therefore, the British Army was required to be sent to that area to establish peace. At this time, many Meo rebels were hanged (Pollet, Gazetteer of India, page 38)

In 1932—33, in the regime of Maharaj Jaisingh, the Meos rebelled against him and it resulted in the deposition of that Maharaja The recent rebellion of the Meos also was engineered after great preparation. It began in 1946, and the Meos tried to create anarchical conditions in the whole of the State At the instigation of Maulana Abdul Khuddus, an outsider, the Meos of Kishangad Nizamat refused to pay the excise duty on tobacco. This started an open opposition to the State. Thus an attempt to create anarchy in the State was obvious and the Government had to take steps against Abdul Khuddus After this, the Meos started open rebellion and collected themselves on the top of a hill and sent emissaries to surrounding villages asking the people there to join their ranks. They collected rifles and other weapons and met the State forces under the District Magistrate in an open combat. The District Magistrate ordered them to disperse. On refusal, they were fired on, which resulted in injury to two sepoys. The Meos seized rifles from some sepoys and again had to be fired on. But as the contingent consisted of Meos only, the firing was not very effective. Only one Meo was killed. But the

rebels dispersed and it appeared that the situation was under control.

At this time, the Muslims of India were carrying on a very strong agitation to establish Pakistan and the Meos were inspired to demand an independent Meostan. At that time, the partition of the Punjab and Bengal was not on the horizon. Therefore, the Meos thought that their Meostan would be contiguous with the powerful State of Pakistan, and that they would be able to better their prospects with the help of Pakistan. They also thought that the establishment of an independent Meostan would naturally result in the extension of Pakistan territory, because, they thought, it would be easy to include not only the Meo areas in Bharatpur and Alwar States, but also some areas in the Uttar Pradesh also in the proposed Meostan. Several Panchayats were held in the Mewat area to support this demand. Towards this end, Choudhari Mehtab Khan, Punjab M.L.A., Mohamad Yunus Khan, B.A., LL.B., Pleader at Besru, Choudhari Sardar Khan and Mr. Rashid Ahmed Balled, called a big conference of the Meos at Gurgaon. (Out of these four Musalmans, Md. Yunus Khan, pleader, and Choudhari Mehtab Khan, M.L.A., were sent by Sardar Patel to me at Alwar on the 8th of August 1947 for a compromise. The Muslim League fourth party of Bombay has joined the Congress. Is not there a great similarity between the action of the Bombay Muslim League and the action of these Musalmans?) In the invitation to this conference, it was definitely asserted that, although the Meos were living under different administrations, they were very anxious to come together under one administration. A meeting took place on the 1st of December 1946 in the Bharatpur State to carry on this propaganda of the integration of the Mewat areas under different administrations. This meeting was presided over by Dr. Ashraf, the Communist leader. The Meos of Alwar and Bharatpur States, took prominent part in this conference and made speeches supporting the demand. Dr. Ashraf made a very inciting speech. This conference passed a resolution that Meostan should be carved out from the different areas right from Mehrauli to Bandikui. This was an emphatic demand for separation from the Alwar and Bharatpur States and it sowed the seeds of rebellion against these two States. It was the duty of these Governments to nip this rebellion in the bud. But the Govern-

ment did nothing The result was that there was continuous propaganda in the State in favour of independent Meostan. A Panchayat was held on the 3rd February, 1947, at Hasanpur in the Tijara area, when a song by name Tarana-i-Mewat was broadcast everywhere in the Alwar and Bharatpur States, and the Meos of these States were thus incited to become independent from these States, and even from the State of Delhi, and there was a fervent appeal to the Meos to come forward for self-sacrifice. Sayed Muttalabi of Faridabad carried on fiery propaganda in favour of this independant Meostan in the months of March and April 1947. * The Meos of Gurgaon district, with the help of other Muslims, started communal riots resulting in terrible loss of life and property of Hindus These Meos from Gurgaon entered the Alwar State and burned some villages. On the 3rd of April 1947, a large number of Meos collected near the Gandham Hill of the Tijara area They had rifles, swords, axes and other weapons This unlawful assembly was ordered to disperse, but they paid no heed to it and fired on the Government forces In this skirmish, six Meos were wounded and eight were arrested. Four wounded Meos were carried away by the mob On account of these terrible communal riots in the Gurgaon district, many Meos from there sought shelter in the Alwar State.

This was the *second rebellion against the State* At this time, different political parties were discussing the future of India and there were communal riots at many places. The demand of Pakistan was practically conceded, and there were discussions in the Alwar State on the question of joining India or Pakistan. Communal riots were going on in the Alwar State also, with the intention to compel the Maharaja to join Pakistan. On the 5th of May 1947, the Meos attacked a contingent of the Alwar Army detained for watching the area and seized one rifle. This was dangerous news. The Council of Ministers of the Alwar State recorded a resolution that this was a challenge to the State and it was useless to try to persuade the Meos thereafter to be peaceful. The person who seized the rifle from the Alwar army came from the Gurgaon district, and the Inspector-General of Police

* Dr. Khare took charge of the office of the Prime Minister of Alwar on the 19th April, 1947.

of the Alwar State was ordered to contact the Indian authorities in this matter.

After some time, the situation was brought under control. The Maharaja had not decided whether to join Pakistan or India. Therefore nothing much happened and the Meos hoped that ultimately the Maharaja would elect to join Pakistan.

It was proclaimed on the 3rd June, 1947, that India and the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal would be partitioned and Pakistan would be established. This knocked the bottom out of the hopes entertained by the Meos to join Pakistan because the Gurgaon contiguous to Alwar now became part of Bharat. The Maharaja decided on 1st July, 1947 to join the Indian Constituent Assembly. This resulted in causing frustration to the Meos and to the other Musalmans. At this time, communal riots were taking place in the Punjab on a very large-scale and the Alwar State, being contiguous to Punjab, was also affected. The present situation in the Alwar State is the result of these different events.

The Meo rioters in the Bharatpur State began to enter the Alwar State in large numbers about the middle of July, 1947. The Government thought that these Meos would be peaceful. Therefore it did not take any steps against them. But the newcomers carried on poisonous propaganda and incited many local Meos to create riotous conditions. On the 29th July, 1947, the Meos fired on a motor car of the Hindus going from Buntoli to Alwar, and killed three persons. The Hindus were irritated by this cruel attack. The Meos also destroyed and looted an old Jain temple in the Alwar State. (Sir Hukum Chand, the Millionaire of Indore, had brought this incident to the notice of Sardar Patel by wire. Sardar Patel sent that wire to me requesting me to make proper arrangements of protection). Besides this, they forcibly converted many Hindus to Islam.

The situation began to be more and more grave. The Meos attacked villages in large numbers, burned them and slaughtered the villagers. The Meos thought that just as the Musalmans of India, by indulging in large-scale communal riots, compelled the Congress to concede Pakistan, they would also, by adopting the same procedure, compel the Hindus to concede their demand.

(But the Meos forgot that the Alwar administration was not timid as the Congress administration)

On account of these frequent attacks by the Meos, the Hindus also began to carry on counter-attacks The counter-attacks on the Meos first began in the villages bordering on the Bharatpur State and spread everywhere Both the parties suffered heavily and the people began to leave their villages and ran away to other places. In a village called Prithvipura, the Meos committed the sacrilege of killing a cow in a temple This created a very bitter hatred between the two communities The Meos of Tijara town and the other Muslims also looted the town and slaughtered the Hindus in large-scale This happened under the leadership of a Nazim, an employee of the Alwar State Government, and many pensioner military officers also joined the rebels. (This Nazim's name was Barkatullah After leading this campaign of looting and slaughtering in Tijara, he fled into the Indian territory. I gave his description to Sardar Patel and requsted the Sardar to capture him and hand him over to the Alwar State He was not found) The Meos in the Alwar Army joined the rebels and fired on the State forces On account of this the position became very delicate The Meos in the Police Department either deserted or joined the rebels. This created a situation of great difficulty to the State.

The situation at Tijara was brought under control, but the Meos again became active and on the 11th August, 1947, they looted Zindoli village in the Mundawar Nizamat and set fire to the houses there. They also broke one idol in a temple there. They also looted and burnt the Mubarakpur village in the Ramgad Nizamat On the 13th August, 1947, they looted and burnt Bahadurpur village in the Alwar Nizamat The Khanjad Musalmans who fled from Tijara took shelter in Takia in Hasanpur village. On the 12th August, a mob of 10,000 Meos collected and met the State forces When they fled away, they left behind a lot of ammunition, uniforms and rifles. At this time a lot of goods looted by these Meos at Tijara was also recovered. About 15,000 to 20,000 Meos attacked Nawagaon village on the border between Alwar State and Gurgaon, but the State forces repulsed this attack.

After this, a large number of Meos left their villages and took refuge in the surrounding hilly areas and used from there to attack Hindu villages whenever an opportunity offered. On the 16th of August, some Meos fired on the State forces. On the 17th August, the Meos looted Bambora village and stopped the communication from and to that village. The State forces took action against them. Another skirmish took place between the State forces and the rebels, when the rebels had ambushed in the nala between Zindoli and Siwana. The rebels fled from here leaving behind some country rifles, a country pistol, some lead bullets, caps of cartridges and some gun-powder.

The Meos of Tijara, Tapokda and Kishangad took refuge in the surrounding hills and carried on stray attacks on travellers and looted the property in the surrounding villages. A detachment of the Army pursued them to the Hamiki village on the 25th August. This village was their base. The Army fired on them and the Meos fled into the hills which, being difficult to approach, it was impossible to arrest anybody.

On the border of Ramgad Nizamat, the Meos collected in their thousands in the Gurgaon district and began to attack the Alwar forces. They attacked the border village of Nawagaon at night, between 11 and 3, on the 21st Augest, but the Army was alert and the attack was repulsed. The Meos also attacked Narharpur Khurd village. In the skirmish, 10 Meos were killed and 18 wounded On the 22nd Augst, the Meos attacked the town of Ramgad and the Army had to fire on them. Two Meos were killed and several injured. At Khojka also, the Meos were fired upon. On the 24th August, while carrying away looted property at Mubarakpur, the Meos had a skirmish with the army, as a result of which they ran away leaving behind 10 swords, 2 country rifles and four big boxes of clothing.

As mentioned before, all Hindus, Rajputs, Jats, Gujras, Ahirs and Baniyas forgot their differences and united to meet the attacks of the Meo Musalmans. The Hindus also began to raid the Meo villages, as a consequence of which there were skirmishes between the Hindu and Meo unlawful assemblies. It is difficult to give the figures of the killed. Roughly speaking, it can be estimated that the loss on either side was in adverse proportion to the population. The Hindoos also burnt Muslim villages and conver-

ted the Muslims to Hinduism on a large-scale About 40,000 Musalmans might have been converted to Hinduism. The Musalmans desecrated temples. The Hindus razed the mosques to the ground. The State forces naturally did not take any sides. They gave equal protection to all wherever it was necessary and possible The counter-attacks of the Hindoos made the Meos lose their morale. They destroyed their own villages and fled to Gurgaon, Mathura, Agra, Delhi and many other places Some Muslims sold their belongings and went to Tonk, Bhopal, Bahawalpur and even Hyderabad (Deccan). As a result, today there is not a single Muslim in the whole of the Alwar State, which resulted in great financial loss to the State In this way, the Meo problem in the State which was troubling the State for several centuries has been solved at least for the time being. The Alwar State had to face great difficulties When the Alwar State was passing through its life and death crisis on account of this Meo rebellion, the Muslims outside the State carried on poisonous propaganda against the State and the State had to face that also. Seven or eight Urdu dailies in Delhi described the Alwar happenings in the most hyperbolical terms and continuously carried on propaganda against the State. Some Meos had made Delhi their abode. The Muslim League in Delhi took them in a procession through the city to create prejudice against the Alwar State Fortunately, the Delhi authorities demanded securities from these Urdu Newspapers and stopped this mischievous propaganda

Agra and Mathura districts in Uttar Pradesh being contiguous to the Alwar State, it was natural for some Meo Muslims to take refuge there. During the height of the disturbances, some Meos from the Gurgaon district took refuge in the Alwar State which gave equal protection to all without making any differences of religion. The Alwar State at that time did not make any complaint to the Punjab Government or the Government of India and did not ask these States to take back their refugees. Inspite of this, the Government of Govind Vallabh Pant in Uttar Pradesh complained to the Central Government against the Alwar State that the Alwar State had allowed its population to take shelter in the Agra and Mathura districts. It is surprising that, prior to this, thousands of Hindu refugees had taken shelter in Uttar Pradesh, but at that time the Government of Go[illegible] Valla[illegible]

did not make any complaint to the Central Government. Thousands of Musalmans were fleeing from East Punjab to West Punjab, but no complaint was made by anybody. It was strange, therefore, that the British officers who were kept there to protect the border should complain against the Alwar State and charge it with partiality towards Hindus and prejudice against Musalmans. This charge was effectively refuted by the Alwar State by pointing out to the migration of Musalmans from East Punjab not ruled by the Alwar State but by the Congress to West Punjab. The State pointed out that Alwar State, being contiguous to the East Punjab, the position of Muslims was similar in both the areas. Therefore, if the East Punjab Government was not blameworthy for the migration of Muslims from there, why should the Alwar State alone be blamed for the same thing? When the Alwar State was asked peremptorily to take back the migrated Meos into the State, it replied that if the East Punjab Government was prepared to take back the Muslims who had migrated to West Punjab, Alwar State would also do likewise. It is well-known that Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister, was deadly against an exchange of population. But, after observing the situation in the Punjab, he expressed his view that it was then necessary to consider a large-scale exchange of population. Under these conditions, it was impossible to send the Meos back into the Alwar State. When the Centre asked the Alwar State to receive some Hindu refugees from West Punjab and the Frontier Province in place of the migrated Muslims, the State agreed to receive 50,000 Hindu refugees. In this way, this difficult problem has been solved for the present. No one can say what will happen in the future. Conditions in the State are for the present quite peaceful, but so long as communal riots are going on in the Punjab and elsewhere, nobody can say how long this peace could be maintained.

33. ON KASHMIR

No story of the Indian Partition of 1947 will be complete without at least a passing reference to the still burning topic of Kashmir. Thus, we read in the concluding chapter of Prof. Bali's book :—

"When it was known that the British were finally leaving and the choice of accession to either Dominion would be left to the rulers of the States, things began to move fast Maharaja Hari Singh wanted to be left alone, forgetting that, with a handful of troops*, it was not possible for him to police the entire frontier of Kashmir running into thousands of miles He stopped Pandit Nehru from entering the State territory He also turned down the request of Mr. M A. Jinnah later to visit Srinagar Even the visits of Mrs Sucheta Kripalani and Mahatma Gandhi had failed to make the Maharaja see the right path

"What was not done by arguments was now done by the force of circumstances The small Dogra army, scattered all over the State and having traitors in its ranks, was overwhelmed at the first impact with Pakistani troops disguised as Azad forces It was now a question of touch and go. Under the advice of Mr. Meherchand Mahajan, the new Dewan, the Maharaja agreed to accede to India The request for accession was received on the 24th October, 1947. The Indian Government lost two valuable days in framing up the conditions under which they would accept the accession ; and by the time the Indian air-borne troops reached Srinagar, the tribesmen had swarmed into the Valley and were just a few miles off from Srinagar. The subsequent history is very well-known. How the Indian troops working against time and in the most unfavourable circumstances, at the end of a very long line of communications, were able to free the Valley of the invaders and recover towns, has won the acclaim and admiration of all. Though the Valley of Kashmir was thus saved and Jammu itself was unmolested, Pakistan had a free play in the other outlying parts of the State, where untold havoc was wrought. Territory after territory was seized by them,

*The Kashmiri Army at this time was estimated at about 10,000, a third of whom were Poonchi and Muslim Dogras who

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of Pakistan to come into action at the appropriate moment Their English commanders who had drawn out the plan of action for Kashmir had advised the Pakistan Government that the Kashmir war must be turned into a war of attrition for India and protracted by all means. That plan is still unchanged Kashmir problem will never be solved except through a total war against Pakistan, and it can be solved in the same short period of time in which the Hyderabad problem was solved. A question that is being asked by every man in the street is, why does not Pt Nehru hand over the direction of the Kashmir policy to Sardar Patel who has solved so many other problems confronting the country pretty successfully? Pt Nehru's handling of the Kashmir affair has been a complete fiasco so far Practical and level-headed Sardar Patel knows how to call off the bluff of the Razvis of Pakistan.

"Inspite of the intervention of the U N.O , the war in Kashmir continued The Pakistan raiders had attacked Hindu and Sikh refugees in the villages of Jammu on September 3, 1947 Regular attacks on border villages by raiders started in the last week of September, 1947. Regular fighting between the raiders and State forces began on October 4, 1947, and by October 24, 1947, when the Government of India received a request for military aid from the Government of Jammu and Kashmir State, Pakistan had captured a large slice of Kashmir State territory. Telegrams and protest notes between the two Governments began to cross the Indo-Pakistan borders, while Pakistani troops in larger and larger numbers were crossing over to Kashmir. On December 31, 1947, Indian Government referred the Kashmir issue to U N O and Pakistan formally requested the latter to delay placing Kashmir issue before the Security Council. The Security Council continued to debate the issue while fighting continued in Kashmir Mr. N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar's speech in the Security Council about the U.N O fiddling while Kashmir was burning, fell on deaf ears and the proposals made by the President were so unjust to India that, for once, even Pt. Nehru did not accept them The Indian troops, by April, 1948, had taken the offensive in Jhangar and Raja-Uri areas. Pakistani troops were being driven out over a large area. In Uri, Naushehra and Poonch sectors, the Indian troops' advance on Uri-Domel road was a major strategic victory, and our troops

had finally succeeded in dislodging raiders in Tithwal area. On July 3, 1948, Srinagar reported the use of 25-Pounder guns for the first time by Pakistani troops. The Kashmir Commission of the Security Council arrived at Karachi on July 6, 1948, and at New Delhi on July 10, 1948. The members of the Commission found Kashmir in the summer a most pleasant place to go about. They liked it so much that right upto September 1949, they were still there. By saying one thing to Pakistan and quite the opposite to India, they proved themselves experts in the art which in modern parlance is known as 'diplomacy'. No more incompetent group could have been deputed for this purpose. But they must have mapped out the entire Kashmir and informed their respective Governments about the disposition of troops and armaments on both sides of the fighting line in code. Even if they have not done so, the spectacle of a large number of outsiders prying into our military and other affairs is not exactly edifying.

" Pakistan organised a strong offensive in the summer, and the Indian Army which was at first taken by surprise by the enemy's use of heavy artillery soon took up the challenge. By December 1948, the situation had become critical for Pakistan. A few weeks' continued operation on the major scale on which they were being conducted then would have liberated a still larger portion of Kashmir territory from Pakistan invaders. But when things were going bad for Pakistan, fortunately for her and unfortunately for India, Pt. Nehru went to London in connection with the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference. What happened behind the pardha between Pt. Nehru, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan and Mr. Attlee is not known. But the first proof of something having been settled in London was forthcoming with the announcement of Cease-fire agreement between India and Pakistan on January 1, 1949. By entering into this agreement with Pakistan, Pt. Nehru's Government directly recognised the belligerent status of Pakistan. The news of 'Cease-fire' agreement was greeted in foreign countries as evidence that Asia was taking the initiative in setting high standards for international morality. Pakistan greeted the agreement with a sigh of relief. They were in a tight corner, and the agreement would enable them, so long as it lasted, to consolidate the areas she had already captured and make preparations for a final offensive later on. The Congress leaders and other votaries of non-

violence were very effusive in sending affectionate greetings to Pakistan They had, however, counted without their host. The Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs were all dismayed at the new turn of events They knew that there could never be a peaceful solution of the Kashmir problem Our Prime Minister's frequent announcements about India's desire not to get embroiled with Pakistan on Kashmir or on any other issue had only given Pakistan the much-needed assurance that they wanted In an answer to a question in the Indian Parliament, the Prime Minister had made it clear that India would continue her activities in Kashmir territories and as far as possible avoid crossing over into Pakistan territory The Pakistan Government, even now, twelve months after the Cease-fire, still has a faith in our Prime Minister's words She has utilised the intervening period in constructing military roads, piling up supplies and building ammunition dumps here and there. She has also in the meantime expanded her Air Force, given Pakistan nationality to European adventurers and considerably expanded her army The total amount of money spent on her army and on capital expenditure on military installations well exceeds her total budget She has proved a heavy buyer of arms and ammunitions from anywhere in the world Her earnings of dollar currency of which she has a surplus have been used for the import of arms and ammunitions. While India has been spending almost her entire foreign exchange on purchasing wheat and millets, Pakistan has been using her resources on import of guns and tanks. If the war breaks out again in Kashmir—and Pakistan will force the issue only when it suits her,—she will be a much more formidable foe than before".

The above lines were written and published in the year of Grace 1949; and nearly nine years have elapsed since then. And much water has flown under the bridges all over the world all this time naturally. Particularly the American and the Baghdad and Seato alliances have come in much handy for the Pakistanee aggressor. Under these circumstances, what can the present position in Kashmir be like? It is not irrelevant to ask. But an answer to this question will take us beyond the scope of the present volume. Suffice it, therefore, if I reproduce here the text of an article of the "Goshthi", written in April 1957, which will apply substantially to the present conditions equally.

"We have been asked to state our views on Kashmir. But when the question has been continuously mismanaged all these years, and while the U. N. Ambassador, Mr. Jarring, is in our midst, what can we say! The repelling of the invaders was halted in the middle without just cause; the issue was taken to the U. N. when there was absolutely no need for it—and even then without a proper plaint or charge-sheet against Pakistan; and when it became clear beyond doubt that no justice or fair-play could be expected from the one-eyed giants of the Supreme Council, our Government had not the wisdom to withdraw the complaint from that August body. When that wonderful international organisation has been continuously thwarting for years the recognition of a Government of sixty crores of people—China—to sit on its Councils, can any man in his senses hope to receive justice from its members however distinguished they may be! Two years ago, we requested Sree Nehru to withdraw our country from the U. N. O. But he would not listen. After the resolution of 23—1—57 on Kashmir, we again wired to him to take out the Kashmir case from the Security Council. But our Premier hopes against hope.

"The latest recipe of Sree Nehru is a Partition of Kashmir, like that of India. But the original Partition of India itself being wrong—an 'unnatural operation' to quote the Premier's own words—how can two wrongs make one right! With an unresolved Indo-Pakistan tangle, there can be no lasting Kashmir solution or Hindu-Muslim Unity or Asiatic Federation or World Peace even. On the other hand, willy nilly, the Defence budgets in both the States will swell; Pakistan will grow deeper and deeper into internal bankruptcy and external aid and military alliances, while our leaders in India will continue to plan of economics and lecture on ethics; and both the countries will have to be kept on the brink of war, running risks on both sides. In thinking of Kashmir, therefore, we will have to bear in mind this broader question of our Indo-Pak relations equally.

"In our view, a United States of India and Pakistan, for certain common purposes, and with sufficient autonomy for the original units can be the only lasting and abiding solution of this ticklish problem. But our political leaders—Congress and Non-

Congress—have both lost this main perspective. And the recent electoral pool—cleverly aided by the wise Pakistan leaders—has swollen our Congressmen's heads so much that they are not in a mood to listen to any reasonable suggestions And for the sins of these people, the Nation will have to continue to suffer—till better times dawn. In the meanwhile, we, folks, will have to wait and pray. For, in the words of the poet,

They also serve who stand and wait." (Vol. XII. 7)

34. RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

We have come, to the end of this story of the 'Partition of India (1947).' In the course of the foregoing pages, we have seen the progress and culmination of two forces connected with our recent national life, viz.,(1) the emancipation of our country from the British yoke; and (2) the partition of the 'Indian Empire' into two "independent Dominions," both on 15th August, 1947. Briefly we have traced the events that led to this culmination, more particulary since the outbreak of the last World-War, the Viceroy's declaration of 8th August, 1940, Cripps' proposals (1942), Cabinet Mission Scheme (1946), the Mountbatten Plan (3rd June, 1947), Indian Independence Act (July, 1947) and the Radcliffe Award (August). And at the end of this story, we have got little else but to collect our thoughts on those stirring times about which we have been reading and to have a peep into the future—a future which, in a way, is a direct offshoot of our own doings in the past and may yet correct the imbalances arising from such actions.

That the world has rejoiced over the quittance of the Britisher from our land on the fateful 15th August, 1947, is the first fact of this story. I myself had long compared this quitting to that classical quitting of Kaleeya (the Serpent) from our Indian waters and setting sail, "after weeks of journeying" (so says the Bhagavata), to the "Ratnaakara Dweepa" or the Island of the Seas-viz., the British Isles. And the result of such deliverance, for which, incidentally, millions of our people have worked, suffered and sacrificed for decades, was, in the words of Mr. Alan C. Johnson, "the happiest of human hubbabs", not only in Delhi, but throughout the length and breadth of this vast Hindusthan. And in reflecting on that great event today, our first duty will be to pay our humble tribute to the kind Providence which has made such deliverance possible, for, we have seen, it was mostly His own doing—God's work—that 'India soon shall be free'; and without His Command, no blade can move in this universe.

Secondly, our task will be to render our homage to the millions of our countrymen and women, nay of other countries also, who have worked and sacrificed, suffered and survived or

fallen in the long struggle that had preceded this deliverance through several decades.

Next, we are to thank that much-maligned man, Herr Hitler, for the rare good fortune which he brought to our country, as a result of the tragic war into which he dragged himself and the world, and which sealed his own doom. Because, but for the war, one may be sure that Britain would never have come to her senses or become so very weakened or senile as willingly to part with such a precious possession like India—the 'richest diadem'; in fact, in her Crown. Just as there will be a silver lining even to a cloud, that bloody war provided a rare opportunity for the redemption of several countries—Abyssinia, China, France and Czecho slovakia, etc. And no wonder that India too had shared a bit of such good fortune.

Let us just imagine what India owes to the last war. A modern Army of more than two million strong—where we had barely a couple of lakhs in our Defence forces previously; a fairly good march on the road to an alround industrialisation; complete nationalisation of her Railways; total liquidation of her foreign debt; building of foreign and domestic reserves to the tune of nearly Rs. 2,500 crores, and above all, a spirit of dare-devil adventure, courage, sacrifice and a readiness to 'do or die' for a Cause among our people who had long gone into a Kumbhakarna sleep and sluggishness; and a good-will and esteem towards our country among the most powerful Nations of the world, including America and U.S S.R., which won her a place among the original members of the United Nations even before she became free. But for the war, inspite of all our efforts, it is unthinkable that we could have regained our Indepedence so soon or so easily, unless we had put forth another mighty effort from within, which would be another matter, however.

So far as Britain is concerned, it is a mixed story. For her leaving our shores for good, we should certainly say, in the words of the Poet: "For this relief, much thanks." But did she leave our land as a result of the 'Quit India' campaign? Every one knows that the movement was nipped in the bud. Did the Azad Hind Fouz establish Swaraj here? No one has put forward such a claim yet perhaps. Did Britain take to a voluntary renuncia-

what shall we say! After twenty-five years of steadfast service and exemplary sacrifices, these leaders became, in the end, so very self-centred and so much imbued with a spirit of grabbing power for themselves and their partymen that they forgot their own pledges, became blind to their duties and ignored everything in the way, and became a party to a conspiracy and wrong which is unparallelled in history By their uttermost indifference, if not contempt, towards the other parties and interests in the country, they took upon themselves a responsibility they were least fitted for. In their incapacity to meet the situation created by the League's 'Direct Action' and their ignorance of the fundamental issues involved in the process of the transfer *cum* partition, they have forfeited their right to rule in the country The Sardar's hope that, by agreeing to partition, they would be ridding themselves of a nuisance and the Pandit's recipe, that, for curing one's head-ache, one should cut off one's head, have proved as illusory as they are unworthy of real statesmanship And that even the Mahatma had to equivocate with the true position and abandon his Dharma to stand by Indian Unity at a critical juncture, what a misfortune, indeed, for the Nation?

And as for the future, the one question that naturally arises is, whether there will ever be a re-union of these sundered parts. The wrongness of the partition and its many evil effects are obvious from the very start And even Pandit Nehru has not only described it as an "unnatural operation", but more than once he confessed that, by agreeing to partition, they had hoped for an ending of all their troubles, but it proved a mirage. There are difficulties in effecting such a re-union, every one knows, both sentimental and real. But difficulties, I suppose, are there to be met and overcome, and not to make us run away, where the cause is just and righteous. It is the how of such a re-union, however, that the generality of our people will be more concerned with and worried about in a consideration of such a vital desideratum.

In answering this question, one should remember the efforts that are being made in several other countries similarly situated, e g, Ireland, Korea, Viet Nam and Cyprus—where there have been movements either for a re-union or to prevent a vivisection. And in times of stress and strain, we are observing

how the U.S.A. is adding State after State to its dominion, and how Canada and the U.S.A. have been coming closer to each other; and how, during the last war, Mr. Churchill himself proposed an Anglo-French Union to meet the Hitlerite menace. We should take heart from all such efforts; and in an expanding world, if an Indo-Pak re-union comes about much sooner than we know, one need not be surprised.

But it is the *how* of such a re-union that we have been considering about. And here again, there are possibilities which we can but indicate here. Lord Wavell, in his speech before the Central Legislature, had mentioned certain ways. And there will be other methods also, either known to History or that may yet be devised by human ingenuity. All these devices will, therefore, have to be sifted with care, analysed and examined in the light of our own experience, existing circumstances as well as the future needs of both the parts of the country and made use of. Nor need there be a sacrifice or surrender of even the sovereignty of either State necessarily in the bargain, because, after all, the people of both the States are one.

One thing, however, is clear. From a negative stand-point, any light and levitous talk in terms of war, annexation and conquest etc. will *not* avail. Those who talk of such things, obviously, know not what they are about. Even if war be an ultimate aim, *Saama* and *Daana* must always precede the *Bheda* and *Danda* in our traditional Upaayams or methods. Moreover, Partition is wrong,—has proved to be an injury—for both the sundered parts. And therefore, re-union will conduce to the health and progress of both the parts. Look at the way in which the partition of Bengal was annulled after six years, or the integration of the numerous States in India and the disintegration of Hydorabad have been effected. It is the pressing necessity of events and circumstances and the good-will of the various parties and interests that brings about such changes. Of course, an undimmed vision and a steadfast faith and devotion on the part of its chief protagonists and a readiness to yield on details for gaining the fundamentals, will be needed in such things. But it is the Spirit, of "Gangendu Dhara," I have called it, or of 'Akhanda Bharat' as it has come to be known—it is that that counts and can melt even mountains in the way

and [illegible]

With [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

how the U.S.A. is adding State after State to its dominion, and how Canada and the U.S.A. have been coming closer to each other; and how, during the last war, Mr. Churchill himself proposed an Anglo-French Union to meet the Hitlerite menace. We should take heart from all such efforts; and in an expanding world, if an Indo-Pak re-union comes about much sooner than we know, one need not be surprised.

But it is the how of such a re-union that we have been considering about. And here again, there are possibilities which we can but indicate here. Lord Wavell, in his speech before the Central Legislature, had mentioned certain ways. And there will be other methods also, either known to History or that may yet be devised by human ingenuity. All these devices will, therefore, have to be sifted with care, analysed and examined in the light of our own experience, existing circumstances as well as the future needs of both the parts of the country and made use of. Nor need there be a sacrifice or surrender of even the sovereignty of either State necessarily in the bargain, because, after all, the people of both the States are one.

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and achieve a miracle. And here, may those who believe in such a re-union, be loyal to this Spirit and true to their *Dharma*.

While concluding this story, I might quote the following words of Sree Aurobindo Ghosh from his Independence Day message of 1947, relating to this re-unification

"August 15th, 1947 is the birth-day of Free India. It marks for her the end of an old era, the beginning of a new age... India to-day is free, but she has not achieved unity At one moment it almost seemed that, in the very act of liberation, she would fall back into the chaos of separate States which preceded the British conquest. But fortunately, it now seems probable that this danger will be averted and a large and powerful, though not yet a complete, union will be established Also, the wisely drastic policy of the Constituent Assembly has made it probable that the problem of the depressed classes will be solved without schism or fissure. But the old communal division into Hindus and Muslims seems now to have hardened into a permanent political division of the country. It is to be hoped that this settled fact will not be accepted as settled for ever or as anything more than a temporary expedient For, if it lasts, India may be seriously weakened, even crippled; civil strife may remain always possible, possible even a new invasion and foreign conquest India's internal development and prosperity may be impeded, her position among the nations weakened, her destiny impaired or even frustrated. This must not be; the partition must go. Let us hope that that may come about naturally, by an increasing recognition of the necessity not only of peace and concord but of common action, by the practice of common action and the creation of means for that purpose In this way, unity may finally come about under whatever form—the exact form may have a pragmatic but not a fundamental importance. But by whatever means, in whatever way, the division must go, unity must and will be achieved, for it is necessary for the greatness of India's future "

Jai! Gangendudharali Jai!

"Satyameva Jayathe"

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Jai! Gangendudharaki Jai!

"Satyameva Jayathe"

APPENDIX A

Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League (1940)

"While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September, and 22nd of October 1939, and 3rd of February 1940, on the Constitution issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, is totally unsuited to and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether un-acceptable to Muslim India. It further records its emphatic view that, while the declaration dated the 18th October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of H. M. Government is reassuring, in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo*, and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically continuous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent States, in which the Constituent Unit shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the Constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where the Musalmans of India are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection

of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

"This Session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of Constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

APPENDIX [illegible]

Some of the Views of G.[illegible].S.

(1) On the Cabinet Mission Scheme — Telegram to Sardar Patel and C. R. [illegible]

"Acceptance [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] horse through [illegible]."

17-5-194[illegible] [illegible]

cat? Otherwise, the non-violent surrender to goondaism, as announced by Pandit Nehru over the Radio last night, is inexplicable. I still refuse to believe that you have reconciled yourself to partition. But if it is true, it will be the greatest act of treachery, I mean collectively, ever known to human history.

"I am writing to Dr. Rajendra Prasad that it is neither non-violence nor violence—but sheer Arjuna Vishaada Yoga—fleeing at the sight of blood. I wish I could play the role of Krishna to induce you to resume your 'Gandeevam' and fight this doubting and diabolism.

4-6-1947. (Sd.) G. V. Subbarao".

(4) **To Dr. Rajendra Prasad:**

"I deem it my duty to offer my respectful protest against the decision of the Congress Working Committee to accept or rather to bow down to India's Partition. As I wrote previously, it is neither non-violence nor violence, but *Arjuna Vishaada Yogam*, pure and simple—*this* fleeing away at the sight of blood. The British Government has set a trap for the Congress into which, I am sorry to say, its leaders have dragged it most unwisely. But may I hope that the decision may yet be reconsidered and that wiser counsels will prevail before India is finally divided?

4-6-1947. (Sd.) G. V. Subbarao".

(5) **To Mahatma Gandhi:**

"I have read your prayer speech as reported. I am surprised that it should be such an equivocation with Truth, Non-violence, Indian Unity and Hindu-Muslim Oneness. Others might have an excuse for clinging to their jobs, in which they failed like anything. But that you should have so surrendered your conscience and agreed to 'cut the Mother into two'—

'O! What a fall was there? My countrymen!'

"It is a pity that the Country's destinies should have been entrusted into such hands at this juncture. But God is great. Truth, like murder. will be out one day. And India shall one

day regain Herself, which the Congress leadership has so miserably betrayed to-day

6-6-1947. (Sd) G V Subbarao".

(6) Telegram to Gandhiji:

(On the eve of the A.I.C.C. Meeting)

" Assist not the Churchillian butchery Remember Malaviaji. Beware present settlement will breed future Asiatic wars in plenty

13-6-1947 Goshthi Subbarao"

(7) A Word to the Congressmen

"One word more, and it is to those of my Congress friends who are still for an Undivided India even today. Some of them, indeed, have put up a brave fight at the last A I C C. meeting, though the Socialists, having been patted on the back by the Mahatma, have withdrawn from the fight in an ignominous manner. But the rest of them who fought and failed, and those others in the country who disagree with the A I.C C. decision, may I not ask them why their voice today has become so still? Can they not demand a Special session of the Congress and ask the British Government to stay their cruel axe till its decision is known? Is not the cause at issue big enough for such a session? Were all the previous sessions held to decide bigger issues? Or are they diffident that the bulk of the Congress delegates themselves, like those of the A.I.C.C., will betray India? In any case, I feel, it is a proper procedure to correct the Congress of the great wrong done and in the interests alike of the Congress and the country, I pass it on to those who are its members, in all humility. And at this critical juncture, let them also not forget that those who tarry in their duty shall not serve their Motherland, but will only help her strangle-hold and butchery.

"May wisdom dawn on us all and righteousness rule the land!

"INDIA IS DEAD: LONG LIVE INDIA!"

(8) A Proclamation of Rights.

A news-item, dated 8-8-1947, in the "Indian News Chronicle" of Delhi, reads :—

"*Delhi, Thursday* :—A Proclamation on August 15, detailing the People's rights, liberties and privileges under Swaraj, is demanded in a Memorandum submitted to Pandit Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, by Mr. G. V. Subbarao, President, Andhra Swarajya Party, "so as to make the occasion an epoch-making one." The Memorandum also urges that the Proclamation should recognise the principle of Linguistic Provinces and its implementation immediately at least in a few cases.

"Explaining his suggestion, Mr. Subbarao, in a statement, says, that the issuing of a Proclamation on occasions like the present one has been traditional with our Indian rulers. Asoka's edicts are carved in stone for all time. Emperor Bahadur Shah and Queen Victoria issued such Proclamations. The King's Proclamation of 1911 is still remembered by many. The coming Independence will rouse the imagination of the people and sustain the new regime as nothing else can. In the proposed Proclamation, Mr. Subbarao demands ban on cow-slaughter also."

Among the subjects to be covered by such a Proclamation were; (1) Civic Rights—i.e., of Speech, Press, Association, etc.; (2) Linguistic Provinces; (3) Amelioration of the aborigineees; (4) Upliftment of the Scheduled and Backward classes; (5) Reduction of Prices—of Food and Cloth especially; (6) Minority Rights; (7) Cow-protection; and (8) Release of prisoners. But inspite of his best trials, it proved to be a futile effort.

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